ANTI-PARÆUS,

OR,

A Treatise in the Defence of the Royall Right of *KINGS:*

Against *Paræus* and the rest of the Anti-Monarchians, whether Presbyterians or Jesuits.

Wherein is maintained the unlawfulnesse of opposing and taking up Arms against the Prince, either by any private Subject, inferiour Magistrate, the States of the Kingdom, or the *Pope* of *Rome.*

Confirm'd from the dictate of Nature, the Law of Nations, the Civill and Canon Law, the Sacred Scriptures, Ancient Fathers, and Protestant Divines.

Delivered formerly in a Determination in the Divinity Schooles in

CAMBRIDGE,

April the 9th. 1619.

And afterwards enlarged for the Presse by Learned Dr. OWEN.

Now Translated and Published to confirme Men in their Loyalty to their King,

By *R. M.* Master in Arts.

Printed at *York* by *Stephen Bulkley*, 1642.

BRITISH MUSEUM

To the Honourable
Sr. THOMAS GLEMHAM
KNIGHT,
Collonell Generall and Governour of
the CITY of YORK,

Sir,

ABreſt Fortified with Loyalty is the CITY of Refuge this Worke flyes to, whereof your Noble Selfe being Governour, it craves with Boldneſſe a Gracious Entrance, and doubts not of your Favourable Protection. If my particular Duty did not engage me, your Noble Worth would ſoone Invite me to Dedicate my Labours to your Honourable Patronage; for who ſhall better Patronize that Worke whoſe Subject is Loyalty, than he who is a Loyall Subject? who better

encourage the Pen in the Cauſe of Kings, than he, who with Glory hath engaged his Sword in the Kings Cauſe? But Sir, I will not detract from your Worth by preſuming to declare it; being a thing better known by your Actions, than I can expreſſe by Words. Onely this; whileſt this CITY gloryes ſo much in being under your Government, the Souldiers under your Command, give the Scholler leave to glory in being under your Patronage. Goe on Sir in your Loyalty to the Crown, and God ſhall Crown your Loyalty, let your aime ſtill be Gods Glory and your Soveraignes Honour; and that ſhall make for your Soules Happyneſſe, and this Kingdomes Peace. Sir,

Your moſt humbly

Devoted

Servant,

R. MOSSOM.

York. March the 10.
1642.

To the Reader, wiſhing Loyalty and Peace.

COurteous Reader, *If thou enquireſt after the Author, know he was a Man of ſo much Pietie as to write nothing but what his conſcience told him was the Truth; and of ſo much Learning, as to maintaine the Truth he writ. Howſoever, then, thou doſt cenſure the weakneſſe of the Tranſlatour, yet caſt no aſperſion upon the Authour. Let him Reſt, who is departed to his Eternall Reſt, and hath left this Worke as a Lecture of Loyalty, which if thou readeſt ſhall either helpe to convince thy Conſcience or (without Repentance) to condemne thy Soule.*

Take heed therfore to thy ſelf, that whilſt thou reſiſts a Gratious King thou reſiſt not the Holy Spirit too, who is the Spirit of Truth. It is well out of love to thy Soule, as dutie to my Soveraigne, that I have publiſhed this preſent Treatiſe in thy Mothers Tongue. That if thou haſt lift up thine hand againſt thy King in Rebellion, thou mayſt lift it up again to God in Prayer for Pardon; and that as thou deſireſt to profeſſe thy ſelf a true Chriſtian, thou mayſt declare thy ſelfe a true Subject. This Worke was written above twenty yeares ſince, and therefore free from the prejudice of the Times, envy and flattery. And know ſuch hath bin my faithfulneſſe in the Tranſlation, that I have rather choſen to loſe of the Luſtre of the Stile, than to detract from the Sincerity

and

and Truth of the Matter. The Language is plaine, being intended (eſpecially) for the Vulgar, who moſt need inſtruction in this leſſon of Loyalty; their diſobedience ariſing from their Weakneſſe, though others from their Wilfulneſſe, whoſe Judgement will be the greater. Let me prevaile with thee (Chriſtian Reader) *to lay aſide all private Reſpects, which may prejudice the Truth of this Worke, for Saint* Auguſtines *rule is moſt firme,* quamdiu blanditur ſibi & dulcis eſt iniquitas amara eſt veritas, *Truth will taſte bitter to that Palate which pleaſeth it ſelfe with the ſweetneſſe of Impiety. Do thou with as much Sincerity read, as the Authour writ, and when thou art convinct in judgement how great an Impiety it is to riſe up againſt a moſt Wicked Prince; conſider what an height of Impiety they ariſe to, who riſe up againſt a moſt Pious King? if they receive to themſelves Damnation who reſiſt a* Nero, *a perſecuting Emperour, what ſhall they receive to themſelves who take up Arms againſt our* Charles, *a moſt gracious Soveraigne? if it be a Sinne to oppoſe that King who violates; how great a Sinne is it to injure thy King who protects the Laws of the Kingdome? I will not detayne thee longer from that Satisfaction thou ſhalt receive in peruſing this Booke; there thou ſhalt find all the Adverſary's objections fully anſwered; the truth it ſelfe fully cleared; be obedient to the Truth and I doubt not but thou wilt be loyall to thy King. If otherwiſe, take this with thee at thy Farewell.* Qui inſurgit in Chriſtum Domini, inſurgit in Dominum Chriſti: *he that riſeth up againſt the Anoynted, the Lord, riſeth up againſt the Lord of the Anoynted.*

The

The Preface.

AFter that the People of Iſrael had eſcaped the darkeneſſe of Ægypt, and the Wilderneſſe, they were infeſted from the Eaſt by the Ammonites, from the Weſt by the Philiſtines, from the North by the Aſſyrians, and from the South by the Ægyptians; So even now the Faithfull Flocke, is every where from every place Impugned, whilſt Tyranny rageth, Hereſie prevaileth, Schiſme overſpreadeth, Hypocriſie deceiveth, and all Impiety encreaſeth, againſt the ſoundneſſe of Faith, the fervour of Charity and the integrity of Life; to the ſeducing (if it were poſſible) the very Elect of God, whom Chriſt hath committed alſo, to the Truſt of Kings, by whoſe Laws the Church is fortified, and by whoſe Arms ſhe is defended; againſt the incurſion of the Enemyes, the perfidiouſneſſe of Hereſie, the diviſions of Schiſme, the flattery's of Hypocriſie, and the corruption of Manners. Deceitfull Miniſters leave no ſtone unmoved, that they may exclude the King from the charge committed to him, which they endeavour, by denying the Authority Regall in matters Eccleſiaſticall, by taking away the

Royall Power in matters Politicall, and by uſurping the Soveraignty in both.

The Authority Eccleſiaſticall is deny'd, by the Papiſts.

Chriſtians ought to be ſubject to Kings as Supreame; that is true indeed, but in thoſe things only which appertain to the State Politicke. So Bellarm. de Pontif. l. 1. c. 7.

By the Diſciplinarian

The Civill Power is referr'd to things Earthly and Temporall; but the Eccleſiaſticall is referr'd to things Spirituall, and which appertaine to the worſhip of God: from whence it is, that the Eccleſiaſticall Power is uſually ſtiled jus poli, *the right of Heaven, the Civill,* jus ſoli, *the right of Earth* So Bucan loco. 43. Sect. 5.

Majeſty muſt creepe on the ground, whilſt thoſe our Spirituall Maſters, placed in the Clouds, doe from high behold it below them, and diſpiſe it as profane. *Auguſtine* was of another mind, when he taught, *That the King hath the Image of God, as the Biſhop the Image of Chriſt*, yea, by ſo much the more excellently doth he expreſſe the Divine Image, by how much the glory of a Judge is more excellent, and his Majeſty more illuſtrious then that of the Prieſt. I appeale to your own Conſciences (good Men) what and how great thinke you was the Power of ancient Emperours? by whoſe ſacred command Churches have been dedicated, Biſhops inveſted, the Clergy exempted, and

In quæſt. mixt. 35.

nd Synods assembled, in which themselves sate Presidents, and confirmed their Decrees; thereby establishing the Faith, overthrowing Heresie, obliging Clergy and Laity to the worship of God, appointing all things requisite for the excercise of Religion, and ordering by their Laws the forme of outward Worship; and all this they did *by a lawfull power*, as *Socrates in prolog. l.* 5. and as Saint *Augustine* expresly and elegantly, *de civit. Dei l.* 5. *c.* 24. yea to the safety of humane things, and necessity of the Church, as one of the Popes himselfe has confest. *Leo ad pulcherimam Augustam*, where he saith, *Humane things cannot otherwise be safe, than as they pertaine to the Divine Profession, and be defended by Regall and Priestly Authority.*

The Power Civill is taken away by the Papist.

Supreame Princes are obnoxious to the Laws, by all Law, Naturall, Nationall, and Positive: and it is in the power of the Common-wealth to require againe the authority it has committed to the Prince for the publike good, and to exauthorize the King if he shall evilly administer. So Parson. in Doleman. par. 1. c. 4.

By the Disciplinarian.

The Tyranny and unjust Violence of the Superiour Magistrate ought to be restrain'd by the ordinary power; which in every Polity is either the Inferiour Magistrate,

or the conſent of the People. So Paræus *in Epiſt. ad Rom. c. 13. queſt. 4. prop. 2.*

The Soveraignty is uſurped in both, by the Papiſt.

Judgement concerning the King belongs to the Pope, to whom is committed the charge of Religion; therefore it is the Popes right to judge the King to be depoſed, or not to be depoſed. So Bellarmine de pont. l. 5 c. 7.

By the Diſciplinarian.

The Presbytery is erected in the Church as Chriſts Tribunall: Who then ſhall exempt Kings and Princes from their Soveraignty not humane but divine, and not be guilty of Treaſon againſt the Majeſty of Chriſt? So Beza de preſb. p. 116. Hence forwards, let Kings ceaſe their care of Religion, the Pope will undertake that charge, and ſo will the Presbytery; the Pope in his Kingdome, the Presbytery in it's Dominion. If any Secular Prince ſhall put in his ſickle, to cut down this ſtanding corne of the Popes, or this new-ſprung hearbe of the Presbytery, he ſhall not eſcape unpuniſhed; the Popes thunderings, and the Conſiſtoryes lightnings ſhall purſue him: the People equally bewitched with errour, one where aſſiſts the Pope, another where the Presbytery, but every where reſiſts the King, that he may learne poore King at length,

To hold his Scepter, and to lay it down
At's Peopl's favour, and at's Peopl's frown.

About

About foure yeares ſince when according to the order of our Univerſity, (after I had taken the degree of Doctor) it was impoſed upon me to determine a controverſie in Divinity; my duty did require me to aſſert the free and abſolute Power of Kings againſt *David Pareus*, and the Anti-monarchians. Which aſſertion, when I had intended to have kept reſerved; provoked by the raſhneſſe of an heady young man in *Oxford*, I have preſented to publike view, having been more ſeverely examined, and more largely explained. I appeale to thy own Conſcience, whoſoever thou art (O Chriſtian and Faithfull Subject) whether doth this uſurped Tyranny over the Lords anoynted ones, favour at all of the Spirit of Truth? is not this diſcording concord of falſe Brethren, fit to be committed to the fire? fit to be exploded with the unanimous contempt of all Chriſtians? the Fathers of old both thought and writ more holily, both according to the Preſcript of the divine Law, and Rule of the Goſpell.

Tertullian. *God alone it is, in whoſe power onely Kings are, to whom they are ſecond, after whom they are firſt, above all men, before all Gods. in Apologet.*

Agapetus. *The Emperour is equall to every man in the naturall eſſence of Body, but equall to a God preſident over all in the powerfull excellency of Dignity; for he has not on Earth, any higher than himſelfe. Therefore it behooves him, as a God, not to be carryed away with wrath, as a Mortall, not to be lifted up with pride; for though he be honour'd with the divine likeneſſe, yet is he fram'd of the earthly duſt whereby he is taught, that he preſerve a juſt equallity towards all. Paræn. ad Juſtin. Imperat.*

Gregorius

Gregorius Magnus. *Therefore is there power given to the Emperour from Heaven, over all men on Earth; that the way to Heaven might be laid open, and the further ſpread, that ſo the earthly Kingdome might be ſubſervient to the Heavenly. Epiſt. 91. l. 1.*

This moſt ſacred Majeſty which God himſelfe hath ordained, Chriſt confirmed, and the Orthodoxe Church perpetually reverenced, I now endeavour to vindicate from the injury of ſeditious men; and that with ſolid Reaſons drawn even from Nature, the Law of Nations, the Civill Law, Canon Law, the word of God, the ſayings of the Fathers, and the writing of the Proteſtants. All which are ſo truly, fairely, and ſincerely alledged; that I neither feare the Judgement of the Reader, nor the calumny of the Adverſary. Thou pious Reader, and Loyall Subject, live well, and farewell.

If ought thou know'ſt that better is
to me impart;
If not, uſe theſe with me, and ſo
thou friendly art.

The

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ANTI-

ANTI-PARÆVS.

The Position:

It is not lawfull to reſiſt the King, violating the Fundamentall Laws of the Kingdome.

The queſtion Stated.

DIvers Men in this our Age, have handled this controverſie Divers Waies, whilſt the Pontificians contend to have the Royall Scepter ſubmit to the Roman Purple, the Preſbyterians to the States of the Kingdome, and in ſome caſes to the provoked Multitude; and the Proteſtants to God alone. *David Pareus*, A Palatine Divine, in the Year 1612. writ very elegantly concerning the Lawfull Right of Kings, in the behalfe of the then Soveraigne and moſt potent Prince, King of Great *Brittain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, againſt the Papall Uſurpation, againſt *Bellarmine*, *Becanus*, and other Popiſh Paraſites of the ſame mold. The *Printer* Dedicated that Tract to the ſame Soveraigne, in which the foundation of that Pontifician Tower is raſed, the ſophiſticall diſputes of *Bellarmine* are confuted; the vain Argumentſ of *Becanus* refell'd, and the cunning Impoſtures of the Caroniſts forcibly retorted. Yet, as if he had drunke deep of the *Lemanian Lake, he brandiſhes the inferiour

A Lake that Watereth the Borders of Genevah and Lauſama.

Magiſtrates

Magiſtrates Sword, againſt Kings and greateſt Emperours, and affords no leſſe dangerous, than impious Arms, to the confuſed and incompoſed multitude, and this in many parts of that Tract, out of which receive theſe few ſelected.

The violence and tyranny of the Superiour Magiſtrate ought to be reſtrained by the Ordinary Power, which in every Polity is either the inferiour Magiſtrate, or the conſent of the People. This *David Paræus* has *quæſt.* 4. *Tract. de poteſt. civ. rat.* 1. Againſt *Bellarmino*, *Becanus*, *Danæus*, *Paræus*, and the reſt ſo devoutly addicted to the Popedome, or the Presbytery. I confidently aver, That neither the Roman Biſhop, the States of a Kingdome, nor the Tumultuous Commons, have any power over Kings which offend, or violate the Laws which they call Fundamentall; and this I ſhall manifeſt and evince by many ſtrong Reaſons, that I may give ſome light to the weaker ſort of Men, diſtracted with variety of Opinions; that as Men placed in a Watch-Tower, they may a far off diſcover; or as Men ſayling in the Haven, they may without danger eſcape thoſe gulfes of errors, and Whirle-Pooles of Falſhoods, with which the Writings of Papiſts and Puritans do plentifully abound. But in the firſt place to the taking away all ambiguity, I will explain the Terms of the Queſtion.

The Terms of the queſtion explained.

I call him *King* who hath a Supreame Power, ſubject to none. In the Word *Reſiſt*, I comprehend all Power of gainſaying, all commotion or confederacy againſt the Royall Majeſty, a *Violator of the Fundamentall Laws*, is, (according to the Theologicall Politicks) ſuch an one as doth overthrow either all, or the chiefeſt eſtabliſht Laws of the Common-wealth. The Puritan-Papiſts tell us, the

the Fundamentrall Laws, are (I know not what) contracts or conditionall Covenants, betwixt the King and the People, entred and eſtabliſht by Oath at the Kings firſt Inauguration; which being broken, they will have the People free, and looſe from all Bonds of Allegiance and Religion to their Soveraignes, the Kings being *ipſo facto*, null and deveſted of all authority. As if that Sacred Majeſty given by God, were confer'd by the People, and that upon certain conditionall Laws; at whoſe pleaſure it is to be reſigned. Which madneſſe, I will clearly refute from the Dictate of Nature, the Law of Nations, the Civill Law, Canon Law, from Sacred Scripture, Orthodox Fathers, and the moſt famous Paſtors of the reformed Church; who, as they have bid adieu to the Popedome, ſo have they not ſworn to the Dictates of the novell Presbytery. But firſt give me leave to ſhew the ſeditious agreement of Papiſts and Puritans againſt the Majeſty of Kings.

The agreement of Papiſts and Puritans againſt the Majeſty of Kings.

Robert Bellarmine an excellently Learned *Cardinal*, moſt accurately skilfull in unlooſing the Knots of Controverſies; yet *Lib.* 5. *de Pontif.* he doth ſo involve this power of reſtraining Kings with ſo many ſubtilties; that he receives no better ſtile from *Carerius* than Atheiſt and Politician. Yet, under the Maske of *Matheus Tortus* doth he impoſe the ſame upon the Engliſh Papiſts, as the foundation of the Catholique Faith. And in a Tract, concerning the Temporall Power of the Pope, againſt *Barclay*, he concludes the ſame clearly and briefly from many Arguments, reduced to foure heads.

Firſt, from the authority of ſome Writers, *Italian*, *French*, *Spaniſh*, *German* and *Engliſh*; of whom *Gregory* the ſeventh is the firſt, *Nicholas Sanders* the laſt, he the

Head, this the Tayle of that Beast in the *Revelations*. Secondly, from good Scripture, but bad interpretation. Thirdly, from politicall Reasons. Lastly, from Examples.

Of all them which stand on the Presbyterian side, *Lambertus Danæus* is the most Learned, and in resolving controversies the most perspicacious. After those many and wearisome labours against the Pontificians and Lutherans, when he was now grown old; he put forth his Christian Politie as his last work, and in *lib.* 3. *c.* 6. he propounds (as he calls it) this noble question: *whether Christian Men, and Pious Subjects may with a good Conscience change and abrogate a constituted Polity, and chuse to themselves another? He answers*, That, *the Supream Magistrate violating the Fundamentall Laws of the Kingdom, may be deposed by godly Subjects, and that with a good Conscience*: And *lib.* 3. *c.* 6. he affirmes; That, *Judgement upon the Superiour Magistrate, who exceeds the bounds of his duty, or performs not his duty as he ought, belongs to the States of the Kingdome*: And this he endeavours to fortifie with a foure square Army, like to the Macedonian Phalanx. First from Politicall Reasons. Secondly, from the authority of Gods Word. Thirdly, from the Opinions of the Prudent; namely, *John Calvin*, *Brutus Junius*, and *George Bucanan*. Lastly, from Examples, and those of the Ancients; namely, the People of *Israel*, the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, and *Romans*: also those of later times: namely, *French*, *Spanish*, *Germans*, *English* and *Scotch*. And against *Bellarmine*, *Controv. ers.* 3. *lib.* 3. *c.* 7. he confesseth plainly, That, *the King which is an Heretick ought to be deposed; but that, not by the Bishop of Rome; but by the States of the Kingdome*. Those things which have been occasionally, here and there touch upon

on

on by others, are all collected into one ſumme, and digeſted into Method by *David Pareus*; which he concludes in foure Propoſitions; each of which I will ſet down, leaſt I ſhould ſeem to let any thing eſcape.

The firſt Propoſition.

David Paræus.

The Biſhops and Paſtors may and ought (upon the conſent of the Church) deliver up the contumacious Magiſtrates unto Satan *untill they do repent.*

Doctor Owen.

In theſe few words, do lurke not a few errors. Contumacy is a Law Terme, which the Lawyers define to be; a Diſobedience againſt the Superiour; as often as the Subject, being cited in a due courſe of Law, doth not appeare, doth not obey, or depart without Licence. The Supreame Magiſtrate, being inferiour to God alone, is not ſubject to Man, and therefore neither can, nor ought to iucur the guilt of Contumacy. *Some ſpeak with good reaſon* (ſaith *John* of Paris) *that, not every offendor is a fit matter upon which the exerciſe of the Keyes, or the power of Juriſdiction ought or can work with effect. but that offendor who is a Subject, and therefore the foreſaid power has not effect on the Offendor, unleſſe when ſubjection is preſuppoſed; which makes a Man to be a fit matter, upon which the Keyes may have their Act with effect.* de poteſt. Regia & Papali. c. 13.

The firſt Propoſition of Paræus *confuted.*

Kings cannot properly be ſaid to be contumacious.

A King in his Kingdom is not ſubject to the Epiſcopall

How the King is not subject to the power of the Keyes.

copall Jurisdiction, as it is penall and coercive, but is superiour in Order of Power; as *Augustine* affirm's expresly. Moses *was in the midst betwixt* Aaron *and God*, Aaron *in the midst betwixt* Moses *and the people, &c.* In *Exod. quest.* 10. Those Bishops therfore and Supercilious Pastors, who send out their citation, or put forth their accusation against their Prince, are impious against God, whose Ordinance they resist; seditious against the King, ouer whose soueraignty they insult; Traytors against the Common wealth, whose Peace they disturbe. I beleive *Paræus* can neuer shew, where any one of the Apostles sate Judge of Princes. *I read the Apostles stood to be Judged, but I never read they stood Judging*, saith Saint *Bernard, de considerat. l.* 1. *c.* 6.

The consent of the Church not required in the act of excommunication.

Whereas he saith, (*upon consent of the Church*) without doubt he doth but catch at popular Applause, by subjecting Princes to the censure of the Pastors, and the Pastors to the Jndgement of the People. The Apostles had the power of the Keyes from Christ, and the Bishops have it from the Apostles, without reservation of the Churches consent. *Augustine* cals this power, *the Episcopall judgment*; *de corrept. & grat. c.* 15. and *Beza* himselfe hath exploded this *Consent* out of a well constituted Church, as *wicked, dangerous, and dissonant to the Word of God. in Epist.* 83.

What is meant by delivering unto Sathan.

To deliver unto Satan] (which he improperly attributes to excommunication) was an extraordinary power granted to the Apostles for a time: according to the more commonly received opinion of Ancient and Moderne Divines. Consult S. *Ambrose* upon that 1. *Tim. c.* 1. S. *Chrysostome* upon 1 *Corinth.* 5. *hom.* 15. S. *Aug.* against the letters of *Petilian. l.* 2. *c.* 10. S. *Hierome*, *Bede*, *Theodoret*,

Theodoret, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylact* and *Sedulius*: all upon that (1 *Cor. c.* 5.) of the Apoſtles *to deliver to Satan* which all of them doe underſtand, to be meant of that corporall affliction, which the Apoſtles did inflict: not by the power of the Keyes, but by the power of working Miracles. To which I adde the Divines of later times, and thoſe of better note and ſounder judgement, *Thomas Bilſon* lately Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Peter Martyr*, *Thomas Eraſtus*, and *Benedict Aretius*; *I am fully perſwaded* (ſaith that Reverend Biſhop) *that* S. Paul *in revenging that wickednes, would have ſome footſtep remaine of that wonderfull power and virtue, which he received from Chriſt to revenge impiety; whereby the imitation of ſo great a wickednes, might hereafter ſeem dangerous to the reſt*, &c. in his perpetuall government of the Church, *c.* 8.

"*The Apoſtles* (ſaith Peter Martyr) *had the Devills ſubject to them, and by them they might ſometimes puniſh offendors to the furtherance of their ſalvation, therefore to whom this gift is not imparted, they ought wholy to abſtaine from the exerciſe thereof. locor. com. claſ.* 1. *c.* 8. *ſect.* 9. *The power of delivering unto Sathan*, (as *Eraſtus* hath it) *which was given to* S. Paul, *was not ſo neceſſary for the Church, that it ſhould become an ordinary power. Confirm. Theſ. lib.* 41. *cap.* 7. *To deliver unto Sathan was a power delivered unto the Apoſtles* (ſaith *Aretius*) *of puniſhing the notoriouſly contumacious, which afterwards ceaſed.* Upon the 1 *Tim. c.* 1. From the miraculous power of the Apoſtles to the ordinary juriſdiction of Paſtors, is a moſt frivolous conſequence, for what did extraordinarily belong to the Apoſtles, had its end with the Apoſtles: but grant we that this *delivering unto*

Satan

Satan, has no other signification, but that of Excommunication; it will not from hence follow, That it is lawfull for Pastors to exclude the Supreame Magistrates from converse with their Subjects. The prescripts of the Gospell, of making the wicked ashamed, avoyding the company of the Scandalous, and rebuking the obstinate, whilst there was no Man in the Church, intrusted with the Sword, to the revenge of evill doers; are not rashly to be applyed to the disgracing, deserting, or rebuking the Magistrate. For the rule is, Those things which by the Prophets and Apostles are set down in Generall, ought not to be pressed to the everting those things which are commanded by them in particular. God in the Law and in the Gospell hath given especiall and expresse commands for Subjection, and Reverence to Magistrates; yea, though fouly polluted with vices, with tyranny and impieties; as, that such were those, of whom our Saviour and his Apostles spake, cannot be denied. Therefore no consequence of a generall Precept ought to be wrested, against the expresse and speciall Command of honouring the Magistrates: least we make the divine will changeable, or repugnant to it's selfe; which to say were horrible wickednes and blasphemy, and to beleive it a grand impiety & heresie. *Gregory* the 7th. by an unheard of example presumed to attempt this, *Pareus* has trod in *Hildebrands* steps and hath conveyd that to the Pastors of the reformed Church; which was most vile in the Pontifician Kingdome; which an *Ambrose* would never have done, nor any holy and Orthodox Bishop in the Church of Christ hath ever done.

Note.

The first Proposition proved by examples.

David Pareus.

By the Examples of the Prophets, of Elijah, *who in*

Wor-

Word reſiſted wicked Ahab; Jeremiah, *wicked* Joachim; John Baptiſt, *wicked* Herod; *and* Ambroſe, Theodoſius; *for unjuſt ſlaughter, &c.*

Doctor Owen.

Elijah did recall the King from his errour, and confirmed the People in the Truth, both by Word and Miracles; he ſhut not out the King from the Company of his People for his impiety, he withdrew not the People from their Subjection to the King, he delivered him not as contumacious unto Satan; he commanded not *Obadiah* that good man, nor any other to refraine Communion with that wicked King. *The Examples cleared.*

Jeremiah reproved the impious King; I neither read, nor beleive, that in Word he reſiſted the King; of whoſe Peaceable Doctrine, and no way ſeditious Life, *Calvin* ſpeaks in theſe words, *Jeremiah* (ſaith he) *doth not onely command the Jews to bear patiently the puniſhment inflicted upon them; but will have them to be ſubject to* Nebuchadnezzar; *and not onely forbids them to be ſeditious, but will have them to be ſo Obedient from their Hearts, that God may be witneſſe of their free ſubjection and obedience,* theſe are the Words upon the 29. of *Ieremy verſe* 7.

Herod the Adulterer, at the requeſt of the Damoſell Dancing before him, beheaded *Iohn*: The Innocency of the Prophet, or the cruelty of the Tyrant, was not unknown to Chriſt; yet did He not revenge the Prophet by force of Arms, He did not deprive the Perſecutors of His Kingdom, He did not deliver him unto Satan, He did not animate the People againſt the Tyrant; being an example unto us, that we ſtrive not againſt perverſe

Kings and ſuch as are wickedly opinioned concerning God

Ambroſe did not reſiſt *Theodoſius* with threatning Words, but Exhorted Him with calme Language: *I Councell* (ſaith he) *I entreat, I beſeech, I admoniſh, I have no cauſe of contumacy againſt thee, but of fear, I dare not offer, if thou be preſent.* This *Ambroſe* tels us concerning this his Act, *In Epiſt.* 28. They who Interpret this fact of *Ambroſe*, to be Excommunication (as Excommunication is taken for the Act of exteriour Power, and ſuperiour Juriſdiction) they do much wrong to the Truth of the Hiſtory. *Ambroſe* had not (ſuch as the Puritans Dreame of) a Presbytery erected as Chriſts Tribunall, from whoſe Government, who ſo exempts even Kings, ſhall be accounted guilty of high Treaſon againſt the Majeſty of Chriſt, as *Beza* Writes, *De Presbyter. & Excommun. p.* 116. *Nortons Edition.*

Ambroſe did not decree his Letters of Summons againſt *Theodoſius*, neither did he ſend a Meſſenger to cite him being abſent, or accuſe him of Contumacy being preſent; and judicially condemne him. Neither did he decree him to be Excommunicated, nor ſentence him Excommunicate, nor exclude him (out of the holy Congregation and Divine ſolemnities) from the company of the Faithfull. I will diſpatch the whole matter in a few words: The Biſhop with-held the Emperour from the Sacred Myſteries, by no Act of Juriſdiction, but by intermitting his publique Miniſtry, and Sacerdotall Office; who would neither performe Divine Service, nor Adminiſter the Holy Sacrament, ſo long as the Emperour was preſent; which every Paſtor though no Biſhop might lawfully have done, if he had happened upon an impenitent ſinner, or ſuch an one as did trample upon thoſe

The true Relation of Ambroſe his Act concerning the Emperour Theodoſius.

thoſe Sacred Myſteries with manifeſt contempt; according to the Doctrine of the ancient Church, as Saint *Chryſoſtome* witneſſeth in *Matth. Hom.* 83. And according to the opinion of the Church of *England*, as *Bilſon* (the *Auguſtine* of our Age) doth witneſſe in his anſwer to *Cardinall Alanus*, *part.* 3. *pag.* 366.

But in this Act, *Ambroſe* that good Biſhop did not do well, whoſe default many have endeavoured to excuſe, no man could approve; or can indeed any godly or Juſt eſtimator of the truth. He cauſed the good Emperor (pious, faithfull, penitent, acknowledging his offence publickly, and deprecating the ſame earneſtly) to refrain from the communion of Prayers, hearing of the Word, and participation of the Sacrament; which Chriſt himſelf would not have done, who admitted *Judas* to the holy Aſſembly (of his Apoſtles) and hath commanded us to forgive our Brother as often as he ſhall repent.

The ſecond Propoſition.

David Paræus.

Subjects, not private, but conſtituted in the inferiour Magiſtracy; may lawfully, even with Arms, defend themſelves, and the Common-wealth, and the Church, or true Religion, againſt the ſuperiour Magiſtrate. Theſe conditions being ſuppoſed.

Doctor Owen.

The inferiour Magiſtrate in a Kingdome, has no authority, but from the King and under the King; which if he abuſe againſt the King or Common-wealth, he is

The ſecond Propoſition of Paræus *confuted,*

deprived at the pleaſure of the King, and ſuffers puniſhment for the ill miniſtration of his Office; not on the contrary. This power of the Inferiour over his Superiour, is not eſtabliſhed by God, but is introduced by Divelliſh malice, or Humane preſumption, againſt the Divine Ordinance, contrary to the Order of Nature, and equity of Law. *Paræus* ſaw the harſhneſſe of this Propoſition, and therefore hath mollified it with ſome Moderating Conditions.

David Paræus.

The firſt Moderating Condition.

when the Superiour Magiſtrate doth degenerate and become a Tyrant.

Doctor Owen.

This is not to provide a remedy againſt evill Kings, but to help forwards and add to the publique calamity; and indeed to deceive the Reader: *When he Degenerates* (you ſay) *into Tyranny.* But tell me (*Paræus*) ſeriouſly (ſeeing what is Sacred ought not to be eluded) how and when doth he degenerate? he which is a Tyrant in your Judgement, may perchance be a King in mine; and whom you ſuppoſe to be a very good Prince, I may juſtly conceive a very Cruell Tyrant. In this variety therefore of Opinions, the queſtion will be, Whether hath he degenerated? you affirme: I deny: Therefore the Accuſer is to be brought forth, the guilty Arraigned, the Witneſſes Produced, and this before a Competent

tent Judge, such as indeed there is not any on Earth under God; which, Scripture teacheth, the Church beleiveth, Reason perswadeth, and the Publique Safety requireth.

There is none on Earth under God, that can be a competent Judge over Princes.

The Scripture teacheth: *The King doth whatsoever Pleaseth Him; where the word of a King is, there is Power, and who may say unto him, what dost thou,* Ecclesiastes, 8. vers. 3. 4.

The Church beleiveth, *No Man* (saith *Cyrill*) *doth vilifie the Laws of Kings unpunished; saving Kings themselves, in whom the Crime of prevarication has no place; for it is wisely said, That he is wicked, that saith unto the King, thou dost unjustly,* in Joan. l. 12. c. 56. These are his Words, according with the sense of the Scriptures, and the unanimous consent of the Church; for as God is the Supreame Head of all, who Judgeth all and is judged by none; So Kings, Princes of the World who Correct and Judge others, may be Corrected or Judged by none, but by Him only, to whose power alone they are Subject. Which King *David* had an eye to; who when he was an Adulterer and Murderer, pray'd for the Divine Mercy: saying, *Against thee onely have I sinned*; For I acknowledge none other my Superiour on Earth save thee alone, besides thee I have no Judge, who may or can compell me to Tryall, Sentence, or Punishment for my wickedness. Whence is that of the Poet.

The People to their Soveraign's Scepter brings
Their awfull reverence, and to Jove, *their Kings.*

Reason Perswadeth, The King is Head of the Body Politique, the Members neither ought to Judge the Head, because they are below it; neither may they cut

it

it off, becauſe thereby they even ceaſe to be Members.

The publique ſafety requireth, The King being condemn'd, will not yeeld to the Conſpirators, although their ſtrength exceed his an hundred fold; He will call to all the Kings about him for help, He will ſeek to His Friends, Allies, Confederates: he will Muſter His Mercenary Souldiers, and will in Fury Vindicate the injury that is offered him with Fire and Sword, and (which is often found true by direfull experiments) His Kingdome being loſt, the ruine of the Common-wealth is to Him a miſerable Comfort, and ſad rejoycing.

Evill Princes ſeldom removed by violence, with benefit to the Common-wealth.

Grant (which yet is not to be granted) that a Tyrant may be reduced into Order, or ejected out of His Kingdome by the Inferiour Magiſtrate; yet is He neither reduced nor ejected, without great dammage to the Common-wealth: the Death of *Cæſar* brought no remedy to the Romans, but a greater miſchiefe. *Nero* periſhed, but with no good ſucceſſe: The next Year which followed after His Death, felt a greater meaſure of calamity, and abundance of bloodſhed, than the nine years which He reigned with Tyranny. The *Athenians* drove out one Tyrant, and brought in Thirty: *Rome* by renouncing Kings, did not take away Tyranny, but chang'd it. That of the Countryman is old, *Antigonum effodio, I Dig up* Antigonus, when an ill Lord was ſucceeded by a worſe. And who is it that knows not the Fable of the Ulcerous Man? When the Paſſenger would have driven the Leeches from off his ſores, it is ſaid he cryed out, Suffer, oh ſuffer them to be: theſe being full ſuck leſſe, but being ſtruck off others will come on, which feed more hungerly, and bite more ſharply. Hiſtories do relate, That many Tyrants have been expeld, many ſlain,

ſlain, but ſeldome with benefit to the Common-wealth. Grant it, that the ſlaying of a Tyrant is for the Common Good; yet can it not ſtand with a Good Conſcience, becauſe it is forbidden by God.

The ſlaying of a Tyrant cannot be with a good Conſcience.

In a Tyrant three Powers concur; of a Father, of an Husband, and of a Maſter. The Sons cannot baniſh their Father; the Wives may not deſert their Husbands; nor the Servants chaſtiſe their Maſters; much leſſe may the Subjects deprive their King of his Dominion. But be it ſo, that they may, if he degenerates into a Tyrant; ſince there are many kinds of Tyrannies, ſhall they all have the like reaſon of condemning the King? where the puniſhment is not proportioned to the fault, it is unjuſt, and the fore-runner of a greater Tyranny.

You cannot be ignorant (*Pareus*) that there is a threefold diſtinction of Tyranny: one doth rage againſt the humane Laws for a private Benefit, with a publique miſchiefe: another doth violate the Divine Law, to the diſhonour of the Creator: A third doth trample upon both Humane and Divine Laws, contrary to all Juſtice and Piety. I confidently aver, That all Tyranny, whether it offer Violence to God or Man, ought to be ſuffered; and may not be abrogated, but by him, *who alone doth unlooſe the Bond of Kings, and girdeth their Loines with a Girdle*, Job. 12. 18. *Solomon* ſinned moſt wickedly, by Polygamy and Idolatry, without the diminution of His Majeſty, or amiſſion of his Kingdome; *Ahab* Tyrannouſly murdered *Naboth*, perſecuted the Prophets with Exile and Death; he baniſhed *Gods true Religion*, and by his Authority eſtabliſhed *Baals falſe Worſhip*, whom neither the Inferiour Magiſtrate, nor conſent of the People preſumed to repreſſe for his Tyranny. I confeſſe

confeſſe *Jehu* did it, by a Power Extraordinary given to him from Heaven, not committed to him from the Laws. What then could not be done without the Heavenly Oracle; at this Day cannot be done, without the contempt of the Divine Deity, contumely to the Sacred Majeſty, and miſchief to the Common-wealth. Hence is "that of *Peter Martyr, God Armed one only* Jehu *againſt his* "*Lord, which as it was peculiar, ſo is it not to be drawn in-*
Note. "*to example*: And after a few words, he tels us, *That cer-*
"*tainly if it be lawfull to caſt ont of their Kingdomes thoſe*
"*who rule wickedly; no Princes or Kings will any where be*
"*ſafe; for although they govern juſtly and piouſly, yet can*
"*they not alway ſatisfie the People.* loc. com. Claſ. 4. c. 20. p. 965. Neither doth this moderating condition ſwerve more from true Divinity, then from Civill Policy; as "*Bodine* hath obſerved, *de Repub. l.* 2. *c.* 5. *If the Prince*
"*be abſolutely ſupreame, as are the true Monarchs of* France,
"Spaine, England, Scotland, Æthiopia, Turcia, Perſia,
"Muſcovia, *whoſe Power is not doubtfully queſtioned, nor their*
"*high Soveraignty with any of their Subjects divided; in*
"*this caſe it is no waies lawfull for any one in particular, or*
"*for all in generall, to attempt any thing* de facto, *or by Or-*
"*der of Law, againſt the Honour and Life of the Prince or*
"*Monarch, although he hath committed all the kinds of wic-*
"*kedneſſes and cruelties which tongne can name. For as con-*
"*cerning the Order of Law, the Subjects have no juriſdiction*
"*over the Prince, on whom depends all the power and autho-*
"*rity of Commanding; and who not only can recall, from the*
"*Magiſtrates, all the power of Judicature committed to them,*
"*but alſo he being preſent, the power and juriſdiction of all*
"*Magiſtrates, Corporations, Colledges, Orders, and Communi-*
"*ties doth ceaſe; as we had ſaid before, and ſhall ſpeak more*
"*fully afterwards*: Thus Bodine. David

David Pareus.

The Second Moderating Condition.

When he will inforce them, or others of his Subjects to manifest Idolatry, or Blasphemy.

Doctor Owen.

Christ, he lived under the Empire of *Tiberius*, the Principality of *Herod*, and Præsidency of *Pilate*. The Apostles flourished under *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*. All Christians lived under Persecutors, for the the space of three hundred Years. *Hiberius*, *Hosius*, *Athanasius*, *Nazianzen*, *Hilary*, *Ambrose*, *Chrysostome*, *Augustine*, *Hierome*, and many others watered the Church of God with their holy Life, and sound Doctrine, above a thousand Years from the Birth of Christ; of whom not one hath once opened this Mystery. But I will nor contest with you (*Pareus*) from their negative authority. Christ submitted himselfe in all things (not forbidden by the Divine Law) to *Tiberius*, *Herod*, *Pilate*; He himselfe performed all the duties of Subjection, and gave command that all Christians should performe the like. The Apostles declined neither to the right hand nor to the left, from the Doctrine of Christ. *The Christians which were at Jerusalem when* James *suffered Martyrdome, were more in number, and greater in Power then were the Persecutors of the Apostles; But through the fear and reverence they had of God, they suffered themselves to be slain by a few, rather then that they would slay*

any: as that Roman *Clement* relates it, *recognition, lib.* 1. *f.* 9. *with the Sect of Christians* (saith *Tertullian*) *it is lawfull to be slain, it is not lawfull to slay*, in Apolog. *None of us* (saith *Cyprian*) *when he is apprehended, resisteth; although our number be the greater*, ad Demetrianum. *The Souldiers under* Julian *the Apostate* (saith *Augustine*) *did distinguish the Lord Eternall from the Lord Temporall; and yet for the Lord Eternall, they were subject also to the Lord Temporall*, Upon Ps. 124.

Because I fear God (saith *Gregory* the Great) *I fear to intermeddle in the Death of the Lombards*, In Epist. ad Sabinianum. As for mine own particular (*Paræus*) If Kings shall draw Men on to Idolatry, I had rather imitate the Saints in their observancy, than you in your insolency; and that I should chuse this rather, the Divine Law doth admonish and incite.

A Law is extant against those who shall seduce, and draw aside to Idolatry and Blasphemy, *Deut.* 13. 6. *If thy Brother the Son of thy Mother, or thy Son, or thy Daughter, or the Wife of thy bosome, or thy Friend, which is as thine own Soule, entice thee secretly; saying, Let us go and serve other gods, &c.* The Law is expresse concerning a Brother, a Son, a Daughter, a Wife, a Friend; but as concerning a Father, an Husband, a Master, there is not a Word in the Law. The Law therefore extends not it selfe to them: therefore the Son is not bound to appeach his Father, nor the Wife her Husband, nor the Servant his Master, secretly inticing, or forcibly compelling him to Idolatry: and although the appeachment of Father, Husband or Master is not expresly forbidden; yet because God gave an absolute and perfect Law, to which nothing may be added, and from which nothing may be detracted;

it

that is understood to be forbidden, which is not expreſt; but eſpecially becauſe, *Penall Laws are to be reſtrained*, as *Toſtatus* hath it upon *Deut.* 13. *q.* 3. That which is not lawfull to do, or at leaſt, which God requires not to be done againſt a Father, an Husband, or Maſter, we may by no means do againſt the King, who (as is before ſaid) is the Father of His Country, the Husband of the Common-wealth, and the ſupreame Lord of all His Subjects.

Laſtly, this Condition is repugnant to the Evangelicall precepts; for if they be Bleſſed, *who do ſuffer Perſecution for Righteouſneſſe ſake*; then are they not Bleſſed, who will not ſuffer Perſecution for Righteouſneſſe ſake; becauſe, in that they doe not ſuffer, but riſe up againſt their Perſecutors, they are convinced of ſinne, and by ſinning get to themſelves Damnation. *Note.*

David Paræus.

The Third Moderating Condition.

when ſome horrible injury is offered them.

Doctor Owen.

Chriſt himſelfe ſuffered *horrible injury*, which *Peter* willing to Vindicate, he was repreſſed by our Lord. The Perſecutors in the times of the Primitive Church, did afflict the Chriſtians with *horrible injuries*, and under *Conſtantius* the *Arrian* Emperor, the Catholique Faith, did ſuffer the moſt Horrible of Injuries, which in the former and purer age of the Church did not ſo much as think of Revenge. *Baronius* himſelfe will witneſſe it,

When Christians first began to be Antimonarchians.

who writing about the Yeare 350. ſaith, *Here firſt the Chriſtians Captain enraged with a curſed deſire of reigning, conſpired againſt the Chriſtian Emperors, whereas in times paſt, not ſo much as a Common ſouldier could be found, who ſided with the rebelling tyrants againſt the Emperors, although they were Heathens and Perſecutors of Chriſtians*: From Chriſt, thoſe Chriſtians, and true Catholiks, did the Faithfull learn their patience under the Turkiſh cruelty, and the Proteſtants under the Popiſh Tyranny: which I think (*Pareus*) I will ſpeak freely. You do *horrible injury* to Chriſt himſelf, all good Chriſtians; yea, even to mankinde, by this your Doctrine; which now rageth throughout the Chriſtian World, to the conſpiracies of Citizens, ſlaughters of Princes, and proſcriptions of Kings, to the ruine of the Faith, and almoſt utter deſtruction of Chriſtianity it ſelfe.

The evils which follow upon the Doctrine of Antimonarchians.

Pareus condemned by King James, the Biſhop of London and his Clergy, and by the whole Univerſitie of Oxford.

From whence it was, that the moſt Soveraign King, Head (under Chriſt) of the Church of *England*, the true Defendor of the Catholique Faith, and aſſertor of the Chriſtian Truth, purged your Commentaries with fire: The Biſhop of *London* (a Man greater than praiſe can make him, born to the good of the Church, of the Country, and of Learning it ſelfe) together with his whole Clergy, condemned this your fourth queſtion, concerning the Civill Power of Hereſie and Sedition. Your foure Propoſitions, brought to ſtrict Examination, the Univerſitie of *Oxford* did not weigh in a Popular Scale, but corrected them by the Gold-Smiths Ballance; and that by a Publike Decree of the whole Univerſitie.

Why might not our Soveraign King commit to the revenging Flames? why might not the *Orthodox Biſhop* paſſe ſentence and condemne? why might not the *Academian*

demian *Muſes* altogether baniſh? what Chriſt, the Apoſtles, Fathers, Schoolemen, Proteſtants, and more moderate Papiſts have all, at all times, in all places utterly rejected. Of ſo great an heap, I will give you a ſmall handfull.

Chriſt. *I ſay unto you, that ye reſiſt not evill, but whoſoever ſhall ſmite thee on the one Cheeke, turn to him the other alſo,* Math. 5. 39. *Antimonarchians oppoſed by Chriſt*

Peter. *This is thankworthy, if a Man for Conſcience towards God endure grieſe ſuffering wrongfully; for what glory is it, if when you be buffeted for your faults you take it patiently? but if when ye do well and ſuffer for it ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God,* 1 Pet. c. 2. v. 19. *Apoſtles.*

Tertullian. *One Night could worke our revenge abundantly with a few fire-brands, were it a thing lawfull with us to render evill for evill, far be it that the Divine Sect ſhould either ſeek revenge by humane fire, or grieve to ſuffer that whereby it is approved. So he in his Apology.* Tell me (*Pareus*) how could *Tertullian* live under the Sword of Perſecutors without *horrible injury?* *Ancient Fathers.*

Nazianzen. *Julian was repreſſed by the Tears of Chriſtians, which many abundantly ſhed, having that onely remedy againſt the Perſecutors,* in Julian. orat. 1. They had other remedy (*Pareus* being Judge) if *Julian* the Apoſtate, the vileſt of Emperours, had offered ſome *hainous injury* to the Chriſtians.

Ambroſe. *It was required of me that I ſhould appeaſe the People: I anſwered, It was my part and Duty not to ſtir them up; it was in the hand of God to appeaſe them.* Epiſt. 33. It had been here your part (*Pareus*) to have ſtirred up a Popular Revenge for the *hainous injury* offered by the *Arrian* Emperor.

Proſper

Prosper of Aquitania. *Let present evils be endured, till the promised blisse be obtained; let the unfaithfull be born with by the faithfull, and the plucking up the Tares differed; although the wicked rage, yet is the cause of the just even in this time the better; who, by how much they are assaulted the more fiercely, by so much they are Crowned the more gloriously*, Sent. 99. Declare to us (*Pareus*) what shall be the violence of the wicked against the Righteous, without *horrible injury*? my dulnesse cannot apprehend it.

Bernard. *If all the world should conspire against me, to force me to attempt any thing against the Royall Majesty, yet would I fear God, and not dare rashly to offend the King ordain'd by him; for I am not ignorant how I have Read, he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God*, Epist. 170. to King *Lewis*. Darest thou not (*Bernard*) to remove the *horrible injury*, offered even to the whole Clergy? all whose goods King *Lewis* had invaded; and which was worse, he would heare no admonitions for Amendment or Restitution, as *Robert Gaguinus* hath it, *lib. 6.* without doubt either *Bernard* err'd, or *Pareus* dotes.

School-men. Let us turn aside (if you please) into the Schooles, where presently will meet us our Countryman, *Alexander de Hales*, who concerning the Duty of Subjects towards their Prince, has these words: *The evill ought to be subject for the fault of their unreasonablenesse; but the good for that Duty they owe to the Divine Ordinance, and the benefit of purging themselves.* From whence *Ambrose* upon that, *Princes are not a terrour, &c. If the Prince be good, he doth not punish, but love him that doth well; but if he be evill, he doth not hurt, but purge: he is not therefore*

fore a terrour to him that doth well: But the wicked ought to fear, because Princes are appointed to punish the wicked. Thus he, part. 3. queſt. 48. memb. 2. art. 1. Doſt thou heare (*Pareus*) the Power of the Superiour, though cruell and unjuſt, doth not hurt, but purge the Righteous.

Will you heare *Aquinas*? *The Faith of Chriſt is the beginning and cauſe of Righteouſneſſe, and therefore by the Faith of Chriſt, the order of Juſtice is not abrogated, but confirmed: and the order of Juſtice requires, that the Inferiours obey the Superiours, otherwiſe the ſtate of humane affairs cannot be preſerved: and therefore the Faithfull, by the Faith of Chriſt are not excuſed from their obedience to ſecular Princes*, in 2. 2. q. 104. art. 6. Have you it now (*Pareus*) Faith doth not ſubject the Superiours to the Inferiours againſt the Order of Juſtice; neither doth it permit the Power of the Sword to the Subject againſt the Prince upon any cauſe, becauſe that inordinate Power would tend to the deſtruction of all humane things.

The Faithfull Flock of Chriſt, long ſince, and at this Day obey the Turk, not without *horrible injury*, yet are they Subject, and alwaies have been, not for wrath, but for Conſcience ſake; and amongſt the Proteſtants, *Luther*, *Melanchon*, *Brentius*, *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Tyndall*, and *Barnes* doe condemne this error with an Anathema. To whom I add the famous Example of a brave Prince; an Example acceptable to God, wholſome for the Common-wealth, honourable to the Prince: which I would have thee Reade (*Pareus*, that thou mayſt learn to be wiſe) in * *Berchetus*, and *Johannes Servinus*: I will relate it in briefe, *when in France* (after the Maſſacre in Paris) *the reformed Religion ſeem'd as it were deſerted and almoſt extinct* (which I thinke could not be done

See the ſeventh reaſon from the opinion of Proteſtant Divines.

* *Berchet, in explicat. controverſiæ Gallicanæ. c. 7. Servinus pro libertate Eccleſiæ, & Statu Regni. Tom. 3. Monarchiæ Romanæ. p. 202.*

" done without *horrible injury*: *A certain King, powerfull*
" *in strength, rich in Gold, and dreadfull in his Navy; with*
" *whom when the King of* France *was at odds, he dispacht a*
" *solemne Embassage to* Henry *King of* Navarre, *and other*
" Protestants; *it was commanded the Embassadors, that they*
" *should set the* Protestants *and* Papists *at strife together,*
" *and to Arme Prince* Henry (who lived at Bearne under
" the Governement of the Christian King) *against the*
" *King; which they endeavoured with all Art and cunning*
Note. " *attempt, but in vain.* Henry *a good Subject, and as ano-*
" *ther* David, *being himself to be King, he would not fore-run*
" *the Day of the Lord. The Embassadors offered large, rich,*
" *and bountifull Conditions, amongst the rest there was ten-*
" *der'd three hundred thousand Crowns in readinesse to make*
" *preparation of War, and a necessary summe for continuing*
" *the War was to be payd every Moneth.* Henry *a faithfull*
" *Christian, a good Prince, deprived of his Wife, removed*
" *from the publique Administration of the Common-wealth,*
" *and for whose sake, the King had banisht very many* Prote-
" stants, *and slain their* Pastors (I would have you *Pareus*
to acknowledge the words of your own *Bucan*) *yet did*
" *not* Henry *stretch out his hand against the Lords Annoyn-*
" *ted; he would have none of their Gold, he refused the Condi-*
" *tions, and dismist the Embassadors; as Witnesse of his Faith*
" *towards God, his faithfulnesse towards his King, and his*
" *peaceable mind towards his Country.* There remains now
no starting hole for you (*Pareus*) here was an *horrible in-*
jury done to the Inferiour Magistrate as well as others,
yet because a Lawfull Power was wanting to *Henry*
(which you Dream to be ordinary) against the Power
ordained by God; he chose rather according to Christs
precept, to suffer a Greivous Injury with patience,
than

than according to your Preſcript, to reſiſt the Power ordained by God.

This is (*Paræus*) and ever has been the Religion of the Proteſtants, not to offer but to ſuffer injuries; to render good for evill, and not to repreſſe Perſecutors placed in Authority by Force or Sword, but procure their favour by Patience, Love, and Benevolence; which truth, even the more moderate Papiſts themſelves do not abhorre, who are averſe from the Tyranny of the Papall Monarchy, and the popular Anarchy of the Puritans. *William Barclay* may be one in ſtead of all, his Words are theſe: *Oftentimes there happens cauſes, for which we are not bound to doe the commands of the Magiſtrate, namely; when he commands contrary to the commands of God. But there can be no cauſe why we ſhould reſiſt him, executing the unjuſt ſentence of condemnation, and requiring puniſhment out of malice, under pretence of Authority, becauſe he has power ordained him by God, which if he abuſeth, he is to be reſtrained by lawfull means, not by the violence of the Subjects*, and after a few Lines, *Nothing remains to the guilty, but that he commit his cauſe to the knowledge of the Omnipotent God, and that he expect his Judgement who is King of Kings, and the Judge of all Judges, he will undoubtedly chaſtice and correct the injuſtice of the ſentence by the ſeverity of his eternall Juſtice*: Thus he, *lib.* 3. *c.* 10. Remember (*Paræus*) this your *horrible injury*, and repent.

What hath been the Religion of the Proteſtants.

Note.

David Paræus.

The Fourth Moderating Condition.

If they cannot otherwiſe be ſafe in their Fortunes, Lives, and Conſciences.

Doctor Owen.

O the Blindneſſe of the Primitive Church, of the Ancient Fathers! to whom that light of a New Goſpel hath not ſhined. Thoſe men born to miſery (or this Divinity is falſe) have altogether erred, who were ſo willing patiently to undergoe the pangs of Martyrdom, and when they were both the more in number, and the ſtronger in power, would not by Force and Arms defend their Fortunes from the Tyrants, their Lives from the Perſecutors, or their Faith from Hereticall Kings.

David Pareus.

The firſt Moderating Condition.

That under pretence of Religion or Juſtice, they ſeek not their own.

Doctor Owen.

Juſtice and Religion the pretence of Rebellion.

A Subject (of what condition ſoever he be) who reſiſts the King, ſeeks not his own, but covets other Mens Goods, yet obtains them not, unleſſe he prerend juſtice and Religion. *Lucifer* himſelf doth not deceive Men, but as transformed into an Angell of Light: neither doth Vice deceive any Man, unleſſe it aſſume the name of Honeſty.

What need of pretence *Pareus*? Rebellion it ſelf is Juſtice and Religion; and by how much any is more expert in Treachery and Treaſon, by ſo much is he accounted the more Juſt and Holy. I would to God this our Age

Age were not an eye-witneſſe of this Religious Juſtice. Let an inferiour Magiſtrate inforce his Superiour into Order, though to the diminution of Majeſty. *Buchanan* (a Man, if we give any credit to the Conſiſtorians, moſt excellent and the light of his Age) he will cry out preſently, *an Act juſt, holy, and prayſe worthy*, and that not in one place alone, but almoſt in every page of foure Books, which he compoſed to the envie of one Prince, and the injury of all Kings. T. B. L. D.

Let *Parry* draw his Dagger; he ſhall forthwith receive Apoſtolicall Benediction, for the Remiſſion of his ſins, and Salvation of his Soule. Let a Monke ſtab a King, he ſhall be extold in the prayſes of ſlaying *Holofernes*, even this in the Conſiſtory of the Pope. *Traytors magnified by the Papiſts.*

Let a Traytor attempt the Deſtruction of King and Kingdom by Gunpowder, he ſhall be inſerted into the Catalogue of Martyrs. Let *Caſtellus* ſtrik at the throat of a King, or break his tooth, he ſhall be honoured to eternity under the name of *Franciſcus Veronenſis Conſtantinus*, in the Elogy of *John Boucher*; heare ye Catholike men what the Father the Jeſuite thinks of thoſe holy men and Religious. *If they eſcape death, they are admired as great Worthies; if it happen otherwiſe: they fall by their noble endeavours, a Sacrifice acceptable to the Gods, acceptable to men, even to the Memory of all poſterity.*

Heare alſo a noble payre of Puritan Brothers, *were it lawfull for me to make a Law; I would command rewards to be appointed to the ſlayers of Tyrants, not onely by all the People, but by each of them: as it is commonly wont to be done to them, who have ſlain Wolves or Bears, or caught any of their Whelps*, Buchan, de Jure Regni, p. 31. *All Citizens which are lovers of their Country, and which deſire the* *By the Preſbyterians.*

safety of the Commonwealth, ought to adjoyne themselves to the inferiour Magistrate, against the Supreames; and those same men (Victory being gotten) are to be preferred before the rest, in obtaining the dignities of the Kingdom, and before them especially who gave back, and adjoyned not themselves to him. Thus *Danæus* de politia Christiana, lib. 6. pag. 460.

We may not resist the King upon any pretence of Religion or Justice.

Who doth not abhorre this monstrous kind of Doctrines? in disproving whereof, he doth but misuse his pains, who abounds with leisure and Learning. Let passe this pretence (*Paræus*) it is not lawfull for the Subject to resist the King, though a Tyrant, upon any cause whatsoever; either of true Religion, or of Justice, without injury to the Divine Law, the Gospell of Christ, and Tradition of the ancient Church. *Moses* had the true cause of Justice, who revenged his Brother upon the Ægyptian. *Peter* had a true zeal of Religion, when he would have delivered his most innocent Lord, oppressed with most *horrible injury*, from the hands of his Persecutors. Yet did *Moses* offend, and so did *Peter*; both (that I may use the words of Saint *Augustine*) did exceed the rule of Justice: he (that is *Moses*) offended, through the love he had to his Brother; and the other (that is *Peter*) through the love he had to his Master: against *Faustus Manichæus*, *l.* 22. *c.* 70.

That which was not lawfull, long since, for *Moses* in the behalfe of his Brother; that which was not lawfull for *Peter*, in the behalfe of his Master, and the Religion of Christ: is not at this day lawfull for any man, for Religions sake, whether it be Roman or Reformed; unlesse it be by a New Gospel, not yet fully reveal'd to the Christian World. That Decree of the ancient Councell

cell held at *Eliberis*, is well known. If any shall * break in pieces the Idols, and there (or then) be slain: because it is not found commanded in the Gospel, or practised by the Apostles, it hath pleased us (to decree) that he be not received into the number of Martyrs, *Can.* 60. Yea, the former and purer Church hath detested this Justice and Religion, more than either Dog or Serpent, of whose praise Saint *Augustine* speaks *De Civit. Dei, l.* 22. *c.* 6. *The City of Christ, though it was a stranger on Earth, and had great troops of people against the wicked persecutors, yet did it not fight for temporall safety; but rather not resist, to obtain eternall safety.*

* *That is, without lawfull authority.*

True Religion was alwaies humble, and the conserver of Kingdoms: The false Religion, that hath alwaies set Kings at odds, and Arm'd the Subjects against their Superiours; from whence it appears, this is not the true Religion; but such as hath put on the faire shew and specious maske of Piety; and the better the Author is of which it boasteth; the more detestable it is.

To take up Arms against a Tyrant were it lawfull, yet it is not expedient.

I will say further; were it a thing Lawfull, yet were it not a thing expedient: For the miserable People whilst they endeavour to shun the Scylla of one Mans Tyranny; they fall headlong upon that Charybdis of many Tyrannies. All things shall be exposed to devastation, and destruction: The Peasant will insult over the Nobleman; the Servant, over his Master; the Robber, over the Rich; the Oppressor, over the Citizen; the Adulterer over the Matron; the Lecher over the Virgin; the Pyrat over the Merchant; the Thief, over the Traveller; and the Spoyler, over the Husbandman: Lastly, one Man will be a Wolfe to another. This evill Liberty will endure no Law; no Law will make a most miserable

miſerable Common-wealth; when every man may doe what ſeemeth good in his own eyes, as it was in thoſe Dayes, when there was no King in Iſrael.

David Paræus.

The Sixth Moderating Condition.

A favourable Interpretation being alwaies reſerved, and the ordering of an unblameable defence according to the Laws.

Doctor Owen.

It is not *an unblameable Defence*, but a moſt deteſtable Sedition to reſiſt the Superiour. The places of Scripture againſt this Sedition are ſo clear and manifeſt, that they cannot be eluded by any ſly evaſion, *Prov.* 20. 22. *Rom.* 12.19. 1 *Theſ.* 5.15. 1 *Pet.* 3.9. whoſoever therefore ſhall offer violence (unto any man) not commanded by an ordinate power, is guilty of ſinning both againſt the Divine and humane Majeſty. To the Moderating Conditions, he hath adjoyned ſome Reaſons, whereof the firſt is,

David Paræus.

Becauſe the Superiour Magiſtrate is ſubject to the Divine Laws and to his Commonwealth; which appears in Deut. ch. 17. Joſhua 1. 8.

Doctor Owen.

Paræus his Reaſons anſwered.

That the King is ſubject to the Divine Laws, Who denies?

denyes? he is ſubject alſo to the Laws of the Commonwealth, though not in the ſame manner; to the Divine Laws abſolutely; and to the Laws of the Commonwealth, not for its coaction, but direction: as *Thomas* witneſſeth; *The Prince is ſaid to be free from the Laws as concerning the coactive power of the Law; becauſe no Man can paſſe Sentence of Condemnation upon him: but as concerning the directive power of the Law, he is not free*, 1.2.queſt.96.ar.5.ad.3.

David Pareus.

The Law of God, doth not onely forbid Tyranny, but alſo commands it to be lawfully reſtrained. He that ſheds Mans Blood, &c.

Doctor Owen.

He that is Lord of all forbids Tyranny, and takes it away, when, and how he will; at his command *Jehu* unſheaths his Sword; where God commands not, *Peter* puts up his Sword, even in the cauſe of Chriſt. For if any will betake himſelfe to his Arms, without the command of his Superiour, he ſhall preſently heare, *He that ſtriketh with the Sword ſhall periſh by the Sword*; For God will not have an evill taken away, but in a lawfull manner, and by lawfull means. Though therefore it be juſt that Tyrants ſhould ſuffer; yet moſt unjuſt that Subjects ſhould inflict puniſhment. God brought againſt *Pharaoh*, Frogs, Flyes, Locuſts, Haile, and other Plagues of that ſort; he did not ſtir up his Subjects againſt him. Againſt the Kings of *Judah* and of *Iſrael*, he armed the Forraigne

God the onely remover of Tyrants.

Forraigne Enemy, not the narive Citizen. That place in *Gen.9.6. Feuardentius* long ſince wreſted to the ſame ſence, whom *Paræus* now follows; but with little credit. For God will not that Mans Blood be ſhed, but by a Man Inveſted with Authority: as Saint *Auguſtine* concludes directly againſt *Fauſtus Manichæus, lib.22.c.70.* but to no Man living is there Power or Juriſdiction given over the Superiour Magiſtrate, as *Otho Friſingenſis* hath it: *For ſeeing it is a dreadfull thing to all Men, to fall into the hands of the living God, to Kings (who have none above them but God whom they may fear) it is ſo much the more dreadfull, by how much they may ſin with the more freedom,* in Epiſt. ad Freder. Ænobarb.

David Paræus.

Alſo becauſe the Emperour witneſſeth himſelfe that he would not, that his decrees ſhould have place in judgements againſt Law: but that they become voyd, if by chance they be known to depart from Juſtice, and lib. 4. cap. de lege Princip. *A voice it is worthy the Majeſty of a King: to profeſſe himſelfe bound to his Laws.*

Doctor Owen.

What? ſhall that which is granted for Publique Peace and Juſtice ſake, be turned to an occaſion of Parricide? Emperours, they are the Authors, Interpreters, and Defenders of the Laws, to which they freely ſubmit themſelves, but are compelled by none. That which the Clemency of the King doth indulge to the Prelats, Nobles, or Commons, doth neither diminiſh His Majeſty, nor

nor confer upon them any Right or Power above the Prince; who ſo deſires more, let him conſult *Barclay* againſt the *Monarchomachi*, *lib.*3. *cap.*15. the Apology for Kings, *cap.*34. *Saravia de imper. author. lib.*4. *c.*11. & *Joannes Roſſenſis, de Vſurpata Pontif. poteſt, l.*2. *c.*8.

David Pareus.

Therefore alſo the Tyranny and Robberies of the Superiour Magiſtrate, ought to be reſtrained by the ordinary Power; which in every Polity, is either the Inferiour Magiſtrate, or the conſent of the People.

Doctor Owen.

Tyranny and Robbery, are the revilings of Magiſtrates, unbeſeeming a Divine, not ſavouring of the Spirit of the Prophets. There were very many Kings of the Jews, and have been in the Church of Chriſt, who have Reigned Tyrannouſly, Worſhipped Idols, forcibly drawn their Subjects to Idolatry, and afflicted the innocent with *horrible injury*; of whom not one in all the Sacred or Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory, or in the Ancient Fathers, is called by the name of *Tyrant* or *Robber* (if we except but the revilings of *Luciſer Calaritanus* againſt *Conſtantius*) that we may learn, that Kings, Gods Vicegerents, though they abuſe that Power, are not to be reviled with a reproachfull Tongue. *The Actions of thoſe who are ſet over us* (ſaith *Gregory* the Great) *are not to be ſtruck at by the Sword of the Mouth, no not even then, when they are judged juſtly to be reproved; but if the Tongue at any time ſlip out againſt them, though*

Princes though wicked are not to be reviled.

but in the ſmalleſt matters, it is neceſſary, that the Heart be afflicted in repentance, that he may return to himſelf; and ſeeing he hath offended the Power ſet over him, he may tremble at the judgement of him, who hath ſet the Power over him, thus he, *Paſtor. part. 3. adm. 5. fol. 16.* This Concluſion gathered from falſe Propoſitions, is ſeditious, and deſtructive of all Monarchy: For if the chief coercive Power in every Polity be in the Inferiour Magiſtrate, or the conſent of the People, the World will not have in it one Monarch; which let them look to, to whom the Power, the Right, and rule of Government belongs.

David Paræus.

Becauſe it is the duty of the Inferiour Magiſtrate, no leſſe then of the Superiour, to defend the Life and ſafety of the Subjects againſt the horrible injuries, and unjuſt violence of Robbers and Tyrants, whether Forraign or Domeſtick; which is proved, becauſe of them it is ſaid. He is the Miniſter of God for thy good, He is not a terrour to good works, but to the bad; He beareth not the Sword in vain, he taketh vengeance on him that doth evill, &c.

Doctor Owen.

Kings not lyable to be puniſhed by the Inferiour Magiſtrate.

Paræus in the Explication of that Text in *Gen. 9. 6.* followed *Feuardentius*: here he is plain *Buchanan*, contrary to the Sence of St. *Paul*, and the unanimous conſent of the Church. For the actions of Kings cannot be brought to puniſhment, becauſe they have no Man to be a competent Judge over them: the Inferiour Magiſtrate is Subject to the Superiour, by whom he ſuffers the puniſhment

punishment due unto his committed wickedneſſe, the Superiour is held guilty before God alone, not before any Mortall Man, as *Toſtatus* moſt truely: *If any of the Rulers over Ten had ſinned, he was brought to his tryall before the Rulers over Fifties; if any of them had ſinned, he was brought to his Triall before the Rulers over Hundreds; if any of them had ſinned, he was brought to his tryall before the Heads over the Tribes; if any of them had ſinned, he was brought to his tryall before the Seventy Elders; if any of them had ſinned, he was brought to his tryall before* Moſes; *if* Moſes *had ſinned, He had God alone to be His Avenger.* Thus he, upon *Numb.* 25.9.

David Paræus.

Alſo, becauſe the Inferiour Magiſtrates are therefore added to the Superiour, both that they may be Companions in their Government, and alſo, that they may moderate their immenſe Liberty: which, therefore, when they do bridle, they uſe the Authority and Sword, delivered unto them by the Divine Power, by a Lawfull calling.

Doctor Owen.

Here *Paræus* is ſhamefully deceived, with hazard to them who are ſo addicted to him, as a tryed Man, for his ſingular Learning; that they think they may ſafely Beleive, whatſoever he Affirms; and Reject whatſoever he Diſallowes. For there is not in the Sacred Scripture any Foot-ſtep of this Authority, which he averrs to be delivered by the Divine Power. God the diſpoſer and preſerver of Politicall Order, never inſtituted this pre-

A great error of Paræus diſcovered and diſproved.

tended Power; God (I say) not the People designed *Moses*, *Josuah*, and the *Judges*, and guirt them with the Sword. *Moses* Gods Vicar, He numbers the Heads of the Tribes, constituted the Seventy Elders, appointed the Tribunes, Centurians, Quinquagenarians, and Decurians; who ever acknowledged themselve, not Companions to *Moses* in Government, but his Subjects. And all the rest of the Kings, alwaies chose to themselves Councellors and Inferiour Magistrates, both to lessen their care and carefulnes, and that they might have Helpers in handling & dispatching their more difficult matters; not that those Magistrates may make any Law to moderate the Royall Liberty, or to revenge their Tyranny; he affirms, but proves not, that the Inferiour Power is added to the Superiour for revenge and wrath. *If it be commanded, it is presumption, and shall procure punishment, not reward, because it redounds to the disgrace of the Creator*; (saith *Augustine*) *that the Servants should be honoured, the Head being despised. and that the followers should be reverenced, the Emperour being contemned.* This Addition therefore is point blank against the opinion of the Fathers and Protestants (of whom we shall speak in due place) as also the most Learned Men, who have in this our Age, illustrated the Civill Polity with their writings: consult *Bodine de Repub. lib. 2. cap. 5.* the Apology for Kings, *cap. 27. Barclay* against the Monarchom. *lib. 3. cap. 6. Berchet in explic. controver. Gallic. cap. 2. Saravia de imper. author. lib. 2. cap. 36. Sigonius de Repub. Judæor. lib. 7. cap. 3.* The Magistrates which are above the People, are below the King; whence it is, that neither the People may resist the Magistrate, nor the Magistrate resist the King, without Sacriledge.

Note.

Christ

Christ himselfe hath taught, and so the Apostles, and the Disciples of the Apostles, and all Interpreters of Divine and Humane Laws have taught us, That *the greater neither ought to be judged, nor condemned by the lesser*; Neither was it ever lawfull for the Pope, Nobility, or People, to chastise the King, till *Hildebrands* firebrands were kindled, to the setting on fire all Christendom. This Doctrine therefore is novell and Insolent; whereof there is not extant in either the Old or New Testament, any Precept, or probable Example. If there be any, let it be produced, and I will yeeld my selfe conquered, and become slave to the Fathers the Jesuits, and to the Brethren the Puritans. We have this truth cleared and confirmed in Writings which shall remain, committed to Posterity, by *Thomas Bilson* late Bishop of *Winchester*, in the seventh Chapter of his Perpetuall Government of the Church, and *Peter Greg. Tholos. de Repub. lib.* 5 *cap.* 3 *num.* 14. 15. 16.

David Paræus.

In whose power it is to constitute; in their power it is to restrain or take away those, who rage in a disorderly violence: but they are constituted, either by the consent of the People, or by the Senate, or by the Electors, or by other Magistrates; Therefore these doe well, when they either restrain or take them away.

Doctor Owen.

This Assertion is Capitall, which the Emperour will not admit, the King will not suffer; which *Bellarmine*

mine himſelfe doth affirme to be rejected by the conſent of all Divines, that it is not neceſſary for me to refute it.

David Paræus.

A Magiſtrate that is mad, is juſtly removed by Publique Authority; as Nebuchadnezzar *being turn'd into a furious Beaſt, was driven out from the Company of Men,* Dan. 4. 31.

Doctor Owen.

How Nebuchadnezzar was driven out is uncertain.

The caſting out of *Nebuchadnezzar* was extraordinary: as there are many things by Divine command in the Sacred Scriptures, which without Sacrilege cannot be drawn into example. Howſoever, the manner of his caſting out, is doubtfull and uncertain, *Calvin* being Witneſſe: *It is uncertain, whether God ſmote this King with fury, ſo, as that he fled away, and lay hid for ſome time*; (they are the words of *Calvin*) *or that he was caſt out by a Tumult, and Conſpiracy of his Nobles; or elſe by the conſent of the whole People. This is doubtfull, becauſe the Hiſtories of thoſe times are unknown to us*; and that indeed he was not turned into a wilde Beaſt; the ſame *Calvin* will tell us: *It is probable* (ſaith he) *that he was ſo aſtoniſht, that God left him the Forme of a Man, but took away his reaſon.* This *Calvin* upon *Dan.* 4. 32. From a Miraculous Act, and from doubtfull and uncertain Circumſtances, to gather a ſure and certain rule, is the part of him who hath little Brains in his Head.

David Paræus.

A raging and cruell Tyrant is like to a mad Man.

Doctor

Doctor Owen.

All these are very ill compared together. Every private Man is Armed by the Divine Law, the instinct of Nature, and publique Authority, against Robbers and violent spoilers: a Tyrant being seated in an higher Power, is liable to punishment by no Humane Laws, being safe in the height of his Empire. Whence it was, that David, *not ignorant of the Divine Ordinance in the Office of the Regall Order, he honoured* Saul (a Tyrant, and defiled with all kinde of wickednesse) *as yet placed in that same Divine Ordinance, least he might seem to do injury to God, who hath decreed honour to those Orders. For the King hath the Image of God, as the Bishop the Image of Christ. So long then, as he is in that Divine Ordinance, he is to be honoured, if not for himself, yet for the Orders sake,* as Saint *Augustine* hath it, in *quæst.* out of the Old Testament, *qu.* 35. Neither in all things, is the reason the same, for a *Tyrant*, and for a *mad Man*. *Tyranny* doth proceed from Pride, Covetousnesse, Cruelty, Wickednesse, and innate Malice. *Madnesse* doth not proceed, but from ill affected Nature; and the Laws do not punish Diseases, but Impieties. A Magistrate that is *Mad* (saith (*Paræus*) is justly removed; justly good Sir? that is just, which agrees with the Rule of Justice, this opposeth all Rule. The Law of Christ deprives no Man of his Right; by the Law of Nations, Kingdoms are not possest by Vertue, or Wisdom, but descent. The Civill Laws do not permit any defect in the mind, to be any hinderance, whereby Kings may be accounted Legitimate; to whom they prescribe a Protector,

The Reason not the same for a tyrant and a mad King.

Protector, an Assistant, or Minister of State to be appointed, least the welfare of the Subjects, and safety of the Common-wealth be put to hazard; concerning whom, consult the Apology for Kings, *cap.* 20. *Barclay contrà Monarch. lib.* 5. *cap.* 9. and *Saravia de imperandi authorit. lib.* 4. *cap.* 39.

David Paræus.

The same is confirmed by worthy Examples, both Sacred and Prophane. The Israelites *oftentimes by their Judges made Insurrection against the Neighbouring Tyrants, by whom they were cruelly handled.*

Doctor Owen.

Why the examples of Paræus prove nothing.

There is nothing that can be produced so wicked, so absurd, or so foolish, whereof an Example may not be drawn out of Sacred and Profane History: but these examples (*Paræus*) prove nothing; because they are all, either unlike, or false, or onely of Fact, or unjust in particular: From the Acts of the Judges, by Gods extraordinary command, he collects that ordinary rule. How falsly, learn of Saint *Augustine* upon Judges, *cap.* 20. This vain Argument is met with also, by the Author of that Book, *de Regimine Principum*, which is carried about under the name of *Thomas Aquinas*. *It hath been thought by some* (saith he) *that it beseems the valour of couragious Men to slay a Tyrant, and to expose themselves to the danger of death for the Liberty of a Multitude; an Example whereof is had in the Old Testament; For* Ehud *killed* Eglon; *but this agreeth not with the Apostles Doctrine;*

trine; for Peter *teacheth us to ſubmit with reverence, not onely to good and gracious Maſters, but alſo to the froward; for this is thank worthy, if a Man for Conſcience toward God, endure grief ſuffering patiently: whence it was, that when many Roman Emperours, did tyrannically perſecute the Faith of Chriſt; and a great multitude both of the Nobles, and of the People were converted to the Faith, it was prayſed, not for making reſiſtance, but ſuffering death,* lib. 1. cap. 6.

David Paræus.

Ezechias, *the holy King, fell away from the Aſſyrian Tyrant: and when he raiſed war againſt him, he defended himſelf by Arms,* 2 King. 18.

Doctor Owen.

The King of *Judah*, ſubdued the King of *Aſſyria*, in a juſt War. Therefore it is lawfull for the Inferiour Magiſtrate to remove the Prince, who is Supreame, for his impiety, phrenſie, or tyranny, a very peremptory concluſion, not to be retorted with words, but blows.

David Paræus.

It matters not, that theſe were Forraign Tyrants, for domeſtick Tyrants differ nothing from Forraigne; yea, they are the rather to be repreſſed, becauſe they are perjured, and the more hurtfull.

Doctor Owen.

Shall I beleive (*Paræus*) that there was no difference

(as concerning the debt of duty) between the King of *Judah*, and the Subjects of the King of Assyria? not so truely, were you *Pythagoras* himself. Neither is that alwayes lawfull, in those things which are more hurtfull, which is lawfull, in those things which are lesse hurtfull. Seditious Preachers (the *Baptist* being Witnesse) are a Generation of Vipers; yea, peradventure much more hurtfull than Vipers, because Vipers doe but hurt the Body; those Preachers destroy both Body and Soule. Therefore as any man may slay a venemous Viper; so is it lawfull for any Man to slay those Tribune-like Preachers: A consequence that would prove fatall and destructive to Jesuits and Puritans; but to set down an absurdity is not to answer an Argument: I will therefore declare the unfitnesse of this Comparison between Domestick and Forraign Tyrants. Those Tyrants whatsoever, who have a Lawfull Power over us, we are commanded to obey, we are forbidden to resist. For there is no difference between a good Prince and a wicked Tyrant, found in Sacred Scripture; as concerning the honour, reverence, and service we are to give to them. It is not lawfull therefore to draw the Sword against them: because they who resist, resist God, and get to themselves damnation. No Law, whether Divine or Humane, hath set over us private Tyrants, Spoylers, Domestick or Forraigne Robbers; in no Obligation therefore are we bound to them, no service do we owe them; neither are we hindered by any reverence of Authority, or necessity of Subjection: but that we may smite them smiting us, and repell the injuries they offer us.

The unfitnes of the comparison between forraign and domesticke Tyrants.

David Paræus.

So the People reſiſted Saul *when he would have killed his Sonne,* 1 Sam. 14. 45. Ahikam *defended* Jeremy *the Prophet againſt the King* Jehojakim, *when he would have ſlain him,* Jerem. 26. 24. *The Captains over Hundreds and the Princes took away* Athaliah *the Tyrant,* 2 Kings 11. *The* Macchabees *defended themſelves and their Commonwealth, againſt the Macedonian* Tyrants, &c.

Doctor Owen.

The People delivered the Sonne of *Saul* from death, (when he was condemned by his Fathers ſentence) not by Arms, but by intreaties: *the People appeale to* Saul *and his own Conſcience, in the preſence of the living God; that laying aſide the account he had of his Oath, he would have an account of the Law; as if they had ſaid, is it according to Law, that he ſhould receive the leaſt harme, who (following God) hath wrought ſo great Salvation for the People?* So *Tremelius* and *Junius* in their Annotations upon the place. The *People delivered* Jonathan, *that he might not dye; whom the King ſlew not, being overcome with the inſtant requeſt of the People.* So *Gregory* the Great, in 1 *Reg. cap.* 4. *Ahikam* the cheif Magiſtrate under the King, defends the Prophet, not from the Tyranny of the King, but from the fury of the People; as is evident from the Text. The *hand of* Ahikam *was with* Jeremiah, *that he might not be delivered into the hand of the People, to put him to death;* the hand of *Ahikam*, that is, (Saith *Tremelius*) the Authority and Help: for *Ahikam*

How the People delivered Jonathan from Saul.

How Ahikam defended Jeremiah

kam had been now a long time Councellor in the Kings Court, and therefore his Authority could do much, thus he. It is one thing to appeaſe the Tumult of the People, by the Authority of the King; and another thing, to riſe up againſt the King in a popular Tumult; that is the duty of a good Man and a faithfull Magiſtrate: this the part of a Rebell and Traytor to his Country. *Of* Athaliah *I ſhall ſpeak in due place.* The Macchabees, were not lawfully ſubject to the Macedonian Tyrants, and therefore might freely defend themſelves and the Nation, from the incurſions of the Tyrants, and repell the injury offered them, by force of Arms. Weigh well (ye Academian youth) the ſtrength of theſe conſequences. The Judges, who (beſides the right of ſupreame Government) had a ſpeciall command from God, they ſlew their Enemies. King *Ezekiah* warred againſt the King of Aſſyria. *Jonathan* (at the deprecation of the People) eſcaped the punniſhment of death. *Jeremiah* is delivered by the hand of *Ahikam* the Kings Councellor, from the fury of the People. The Macchabees defended their Nation from hoſtile invaſion. Therefore the Inferiour Magiſtrate may and ought to reſtraine the King. There is none amongſt you ſo unskilfull in Logick as not to know, that theſe concluſions do no whit agree with their premiſſes. Theſe vain Sophiſticall Arguments therefore doe blemiſh *Paræus*, either with groſſe Ignorance, or notorious malice: if he ſees not the Fallacies, he is as blinde as a Mole; but if wittingly and willingly he ſtrives to caſt this miſt before your eyes, and the eyes of other young Students, he has the greater ſin.

David

David Paræus.

Thraſybulus *caſt out the thirty Tyrants out of* Athens. *The Romans, they baniſht the Kings which ruled wickedly; they compeld the Conſuls to lay down their Magiſtracy: they Judged and depoſed* Nero *and* Maximinus, *who were Tyrants.*

Doctor Owen.

Theſe Examples are onely of Fact, and do not infer any right; and becauſe they are unlike, they conclude nothing.

David Paræus.

The Electors deprived Winceſlaus *of the Empire.*

Doctor Owen.

Done it was, I confeſſe, whether done by equity or injury, let others determine: let him tell us, that can; What is the Authority of the Imperiall Majeſty? or what is the Power of the Electorall dignity? I am not aſhamed to be ignorant, who have ſpent my time in the ſtudy of Divine, not Politique matters: it was done alſo peradventure to the Publique good; but is it therefore to be imitated? Poyſon hath been a Remedy to ſome, which yet the Phyſicians do not number amongſt their wholeſome Medicines.

David Paræus.

Laſtly, Trajanus *is prayſed in* Dion, *becauſe, that delivering*

vering the Sword to the Præfect of the Prætorium, he said; if I command things Just, ask this for me; if unjust, against me.

Doctor Owen.

Trajanus his Speech to the Tribune of the Souldiers approved.

Paræus did not draw the prayse of *Trajanus* out of the Fountain of *Dion*, but the rivulets of *Bucan*; For *Trajanus* delivered that Sword, not to the Prætorian-Præfect, but to the Tribune of the Souldiers. The Emperour was indeed worthy of all prayse; who freely of his own accord, not by any others compulsion, did that, which was acceptable to God, profitable to the Subjects, and worthy of an Emperour. These and the like favours which Princes vouchsafe of themselves, do indeed procure to them the affection and good will of their Subjects; but confer upon the People, or Inferiour Magistrates no right at all over their Princes.

David Paræus.

Let the judgement also of Luther *be seen, and of the Divines, to the Lawyers of* Wittenberge, *concerning this question; and* Peter Martyrs *Commentaries upon* Judges. *cap.* 1.

Doctor Owen.

Luthers opinion concerning this question.

Luther, and the Divines do speak, not of a King invested with an absolute Power; but of Princes admitted upon condition, which as well the writings of *Luther*, as *Sleidans* Relation of *Luther*, do Witnesse. Concerning Tyrannicall and Idolatrous Kings, thus did *Luther* bort

both teach and write. *What therefore was to be done? were the Kings to be banished out of their Kingdoms? or Forces to be raised against them? No. They were not to be obeyed, but the greatest extremities to be suffered; which the example of* Daniel, *and of his Companions do declare.* Thus *Luther* in Thesaur. artic. loc. de Magistratu. *When the Duke of Saxony and other Princes of the Empire* (saith Sleidan) *met together at Smalcaldia, to deliberate concerning the undertaking a defence against the hostile violence* (if by chance any should happen) *before the League was entered. There were admitted to the Councell not only Lawyers, but also Divines*; Luther *he always taught, that we ought not to resist the Magistrate. But when the Lawyers in this deliberation taught, that it was permitted by the Law, sometimes, in some cases to resist; and that they declared, that then the matter was brought to that case, of which the Laws amongst other things makes mention.* Luther *ingenuously profest, that he knew not this was lawfull, and because the Politicall Laws are not impugned, or abolisht by the Gospell; he said, a League might be entred for a Defence; whether* Cæsar *himself, or any other in his name, should make war against them.* Hitherto *Sleidan* concerning the judgement of *Luther*. Neither has the opinion of *Peter Martyr* any other meaning. This manner of dealing with Authors is very ill: that, what they have writ concerning one kind of Polity, should be wrested to another, contrary to their Sense and meaning.

David Pareus.

The Third Proposition.

It is not lawfull for Subjects (meerly private, without a Lawfull

Lawfull calling) to take up Arms, either to invade Tyrants before danger; or to defend themselves against them in danger; or to revenge themselves upon them after danger: if they may be defended by the ordinary Power.

Doctor Owen.

These are but deceitfull Flatteries, framed to the destruction and eversion of Common-wealths: I will not repeate the Vanity of that distinction of Subjects, into private Subjects, and Inferiour Magistrates, this hath been sufficiently discust before. Whosoever they are of what name or Title soever they be, if they be Subjects, they ought not to rise up against their Superiours, to resist their Lords with Force and Arms, or to remove them from their dignity, or deprive them of their Honour; because there is no Power given by God, or granted by Man to the Inferiour against his Superiour. The Pretence of a Lawfull Calling, opens a gap to all Impiety, and all kind of Injustice. It will be an easie thing for any Man to pretend this Lawfull Calling, and to accuse even the best Prince of Tyranny: *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* will not spare *Moses*. *Achitophell* will be enemy to *David*. *Jeroboam* a wicked Servant will thrust out the Son of *Solomon*. A Military fury will lay violent hands upon *Alexander Severus*. Yea the Jews have a Law against Christ the King of Kings, and according to that Law he ought to dye. Grant it (*Paræus*) that it is lawfull, to restrain Kings which Reigne Tyrannically, and then no Kings (by what calling soever) will be safe. Although they live Holy, and governe Justly, yet shall they never satisfie Seditious Men.

How mischievous that pretence of a lawfull calling is.

The

The *Ordinary Power* which *Paræus* ſuggeſts, doth oppoſe the Divine Law, Reaſon and Nature; hath the Son any Power over his Father, though cruell? Have the Servants any Power over their Lord, though churliſh? Hath the Wife any Power over her Husband, though unkind? and is the condition of a King any whit worſe? *Every Power which is of God* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *is an ordinate Power*; but this Power which he calls Ordinary, is not Ordinate, which ſubjects the Superiour to the Inferiour; the Head to the Body; the Lord to the Servant; and the King to the Subject. The King is Supreame over all; if once he admit a Companion, or Superiour, he is no longer King. To this captious Propoſition, he hath adjoyned ſome Reaſons, which I will briefly run over.

The ordinary power oppoſeth Divine Law, Reaſon, and Nature.

David Paræus.

Becauſe this were to take the Sword away from God, and a thing not permitted by the Laws.

Doctor Owen.

He that takes it away, whether he be a Private Subject, or Inferiour Magiſtrate, he ſhall ſuffer puniſhment as a Traytor to the Divine and Humane Majeſty.

David Paræus.

Becauſe the Subjects are bound to obey a wicked Magiſtrate, whilſt they are not compeld to do any thing againſt God.

Doctor Owen.

Theſe Words are not clearly and plainly enough

set down, which may be understood two wayes. First, That the Subjects ought not to obey in those things which the Prince shall command against God. This I confesse to be true; of which there is no controversie in the Church of God. Secondly, That the People ought not to obey that Prince any longer, in any thing, when once he shall command any thing obstinately against God. Which opinion the Jesuites and Puritans stifly maintain, who contend with all the force they may, to perswade the Subjects, That Kings who do not observe the Law of God, or hinder those that are observers of it, or be persecutors of them, and (that I may speak in one Word) who do not governe according to the Precript of the Divine Law, they do (*ipso jure*) lose their Kingdoms, and deprive themselves of all Honour, Dignity, and Power. They who list to rake in this Dunghill, let them reade *Joannes Baptista Fichlerus, de jure Magistrat. & offic. Subdit. fol. 15. Franciscus Feuardentius* upon *Hester, pag. 89. Creswell in Philopat. pag. 194. Vindicias contra Tyrannos, quest. 3 pag. 189.* The *Tract de jure Magistrat. quest. 6. pag. 155. & 275. Lambertus Danæus de Politia Christiana. lib. 3. cap. 6. pag. 221. Joannes Althusius in Politicis, cap. 14. pag. 146. & cap. 15. pag.* 195. Whose raging madnesse all true Catholiques do, and have detested. For, *The power of Rule is not founded in Grace*; which neither can Goodnesse conferre, nor Wickednesse take away.

The names and writings of the Anti-monarchians

David Parœus.

In which case also, we must rather dye, than unlawfully resist. We have the Lacedemonians *for an example; who,*

when

when the Conquerours commanded those things, which were against their Lawes and Customes, they said, If yo command things more harsh than death, we will rather dye. And Aristotle in his Ethicks, doth advise, rather to dye, than to suffer a Mans selfe to be compel'd to dishonest things, lib. 3. cap. 1.

Doctor Owen.

Speak out Man, that we may know you: Do you believe there is any lawfull Kind of Resistance for the Inferiour against his Superiour? Christ the eternall Lawgiver, doth simply condemne all unsheathing of the Sword, without the order of authority. *Paul* the Interpreter of the Law, forbids the Faithfull all resistance. *Peter* the chiefe of the Apostles, commands Subjection to every Creature which hath an higher Power; where, all is spoken properly of Superiours, without a difference of good or bad; and to all Inferiours indifferently, without limitation of either Layity or Clergy, of Order, Degree, or Dignity. *Parens* therefore doth ill distinguish here, where the Divine Law admits no distinction; the Admonitions of Philosophers, and Examples of the Heathen, may induce to the information of Manners; to the explication of Loyalty, or confirmation of the Faith, they availe nothing: in these we have a more firme Word of Prophesie, and more famous Examples of Saints: *Thou shalt not speak evill* (saith Moses) *of the Ruler of thy People*, Exod. 22.28. *Touch not mine Anoynted* (saith David) 1 Cron. 16.22. *Rise not up against the King*, Prov. 30.31. *Who may say unto the King, what dost thou?* Eccles. 8.3. *Curse not the King no not in the heart*, Eccles. 10.20. as for Examples;

Resistance of the Superiour unlawfull.

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Resistance of the Superiour unlawfull.

David that famous Prophet, when he had King *Saul* guilty of Impiety, Tyranny, and great wickednesse, delivered into his hands, yet would he not touch him. By which Example, he would instruct men, that the punishment of Kings is to be committed to God alone; and that it is not lawfull for any Man, not onely to lift up his hand against the Prince; but also, to violate that Sacred Majesty, so much as in Word. *Elijah* did not resist, but fly from *Ahab*, that Enemy of Religion: neither did he stir up any to Rebellion. *Isaiah* sawn into two by *Manasses*; *Jeremiah* shut up in Prison; *Daniel* cast to the Lyons; the three Children thrown into the hot fiery Furnace; *Amos* struck through the Temples; *Zacharias* overwhelmed with Stones at the Threshold of the Temple; *Peter* Crucified with his Head towards the ground; *James* slain by the Sword; *Bartholomew* beate with Clubbs; *Matthew* and *Paul* beheaded; that I say nothing of the glorious Company of Martyrs, who have honoured the Church of Christ by their holy life, and propigated the same by their precious death. But what Popular tumult was amongst them? Who of them was an Author of Rebellion? Which of them put the Inferiour Magistrates in minde of this duty, or imployed their ayde by way of Petition or Appeale? Which of them did either curse or revile their Persecutors. The Christians of ancient Faith, would not oppose themselves against the Superiour Power in Defence of the faithfull Brethren; They thought it much better, that the Just should suffer (though unjustly) for true Justice sake; than that they should offer any violence to the Magistrates (under Pretence of feigned Justice) though wicked Persecutors.

Note.

David

David Parœus.

***By the Example of** David, **refusing to kill** Saul **a Tyrant, when it was in his Power to doe it,** 1 Sam. 24. 26.*

Doctor Owen.

When it was in his Power *Parens*? That is most properly in a Mans Power, which is a Mans Right; so that, what he doth, he doth Lawfully. Yea, but David *might have done it Lawfully*, saith *Bucan, loc. 49. Sect. 77.* yet he would not doe it. *David* therefore was herein the worst of Men, a Violator of the Publick Peace and true Piety, an Enemy of his Country, a Neglecter of his Friends, a Deserter of his Duty, who, with one Act, and little or no Labour, by the Death of the Tyrant (whom he might have slaine safely and justly) had delivered the Church from error, the Commonwealth from Tyranny, his Fellow Sufferers from Injury, and himselfe from Persecution. *David* wanted many Teachers, such as we have (at this Day) abounding amongst us, as well in the Reformed, as in the Roman Church, who might have admonished him of this duty; where there as a private Man, yet suffering *horrible injury*; or as an Inferiour Magistrate, *Invested with the ordinary Authority*. Of whom I would aske one question; Whether or no have the Subject, Private, or such as are placed in Magistracy, any greater Right, or Lawfull power against the King, than that which *David* had against *Saul*? The Authour of that Book called *Vindiciæ contra Tyran.* doth affirme, That *David* could doe nothing against *Saul*, for the defect

David the greatest oppo-sers of Anti-monarchians

fect of the Ordinary Power: becauſe he was not one of the States of the People: whom *Paræus* alſo in this place ranks with the Common People, and private Subjects. What? was he a Man famous in Peace, powerfull in Warr, Son in Law to the King, appointed by God for the Kingdome, who went in and out before all the People, whom all ſo dearely loved, and above all ſo much honoured and reverenced? And was not he one of the States of the People? This one onely Example (were there not another to be found in Sacred or Prophane Hiſtory) doth demonſtrate by a neceſſary Conſequence, That no private Subject, or publike Magiſtrate hath any lawfull Power againſt the King: whom they may either puniſh with Death, thruſt out of his Kingdome, reduce into Order by violence, or deprive of his Dignity.

David Paræus.

Laſtly, the Arguments brought in the beginning for the negative part, do all tend to this, and only confirme this Propoſition of the duty of Chriſtians, who are meerely private Men.

Doctor Owen.

Againſt theſe Poſitions which *Paræus* undertook to prove, (and I beleive will prove, * *ad Græcas Calendas*) he brought in the beginning of this Queſtion, ſome places of Sacred Scripture, *viz.* *Rom.* 13. 2. 1 *Pet.* 2. 19. *Matth.* 5. *Rom.* 12. 4. & 17. 1 *Pet.* 3. 9. All which he will have to be Spoken and Underſtood of meerely private Men. *Calvin* alſo found out this very way of evading: for after he had heapt up diverſe Precepts, and Examples

* That is never.

amples, out of both Teſtaments for Obedience he blows all away as it were at one blaſt. *Of private Men* (ſaith he) *I always ſpeak; for if there be any popular Magiſtrates appointed for the moderating the licentiouſneſſe of Kings* (*ſuch as were in times paſt the Ephori, Tribuni, Demarchi, and which power is enjoyed by the three States in every Kingdom, when they ſit in the* * *chiefe Aſſembly*) *I am ſo farre from forbidding ſuch, to reſtraine that raging licentiouſneſſe of Kings; that I affirme, if they winke at Kings, who rage and inſult over the poore Commons, they are not guiltleſſe of wicked treachery, Inſtit. l. 4. cap. 20. ſect. 31.* Beza followes *Calvin*. *There is no other remedy* (ſaith he) *propounded to private Men ſubject to a tyrant, but amendement of life, and Prayers, and Teares, which the Lord in his time will not deſpiſe.* But as concerning thoſe Popular Officers, he anſwers in theſe words; *This burden is laid upon the Superiour powers* (*ſuch as are the* Septemviri *in the Roman Empire, whom they call Electors; and the State of the Kingdome in almoſt all Monarchies*) *that they reſtraine the raging Tyrants; which if they do not, they ſhall anſwer for their perfidiouſneſſe as betrayers of their Country.* Thus *Beza in Conf. c. 5. p. 171. 172.* the Author of that Book called *Vindiciæ cont. Tyran.* followes *Beza*: whoſe Words are theſe, *Chriſt, becauſe his Kingdome was not of this world, fled into Ægypt, and withdrew himſelfe from tyranny. Paul, becauſe he deſcribes the duty of every Chriſtian, and not of Magiſtrates, he teacheth to obey even Nero himſelfe. qu. 3. pag. 203. 204.* From this Fellow, of an unknowne Name, did *Lambertus Daneus* draw his Polity. *In a godly Common-wealth* (ſaith he) *Iudgment upon the Supreame Magiſtrate doth not belong to any one private man in the Common-wealth,*

* That is, in Parliament.

not

not to one or other only of the Iudges, Magistrates, or Princes of the Kingdome; but to the whole States of the Kingdome. &c. de Politia Christiana lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 413. Bucan drawes this cord longer yet, and that which others attribute to all in generall, he to each one in particular. *The Subjects* (saith he) *shall not rightly withdraw their obedience; yet notwithstanding, they who are in any part partakers of the administration of the common-wealth, as Governors, Senators, Consuls, States, or Tribes, ought to moderate the Violence of Princes, loco. 49. Sect. 76.*

After him, in the next yeare following, wrote *Ioannes Althusius*, Doctor of both Laws, that, *All the Ephori together, are the Supream Magistrates Superiors, when representing the people, they doe any thing in the peoples name; But each of them severall is the Magistrates inferior. de Politicis cap. 14. pag. 142.* and afterwards, *The people have not the power of punishing the Magistrate; but the States only. pag. 161.* Peradventure from him *Pareus* borrowed that distinction, not from *Tertullian, Cyprian, Nazianzen, Chrysostome, Ambrose, Augustine, Hierome*, or any other of the Fathers, of the first or middle Age of the Church. *Gregory* (not the Great, but the wicked) *Hildebrand* delivered this burning Firebrand to our Politicall Divines. Observe (ye Academians) amongst divers Men, the divers Names of this usurped Power. *Calvin* hath it, *the popular Magistrates*; Beza, *the Superiour powers*; Junius Brutus, *the Nobles of the Kingdom*; Bucan, *the partakers of publick Administration*; Althusius, *the Ephori*; Pareus, *the Inferiour Magistrates*. So that amongst those Authors, I finde so many Names of that Power, as there are Heads of that Beast, *Revel. 13. 1.* But letting Names passe, let us search into the Thing it selfe.

The divers Names of the usurped power over Princes.

selfe. Peter long since said, *be ye Subject to the King as Supreame.* 1 Pet. 2. 13. fy, St. Peter, fy! the King is not Supreame! the Inferiour Magistrates are Supreame! those Magistrates censorious Rod is ever to be feared by the King, being ordained for his Correction, Deposition, or Death; according as the Wrath of the Ambitious Nobility, or the Fury of the Provoked Multitude shall suggest. But howsoever the matter is, it shall be more safe to erre with St. Peters spirit, than to be otherwise opinioned with those Men. With your leave therfore (*Paræus*) what Optatus Milevitanus wrote long since of Donatus, may I affirme of those Ephori. *Since there is none above the Emperor, but God alone who made the Emperor; whilst the Inferior Magistrates do exalt themselves above the Emperor, they do as it were exceed the bounds of men; by esteeming of themselves as God, in not reverencing him; who, after God, is to be feared of men. de schism. Donat. lib. 3. p. 85.* which how well, and according to the Rules of a Common-wealth this done, I appeale to your own Conscience Paræus, and so hasten to your last Proposition.

The fourth Proposition.

David Paræus.

Yet is it lawfull for Subjects meerely private, in a present danger, to defend them and theirs against a Tyrant, as against a private Robber; if the Tyrant shall offer violence against them as a Robber or Ravisher; they not having the possibility of imploring the ordinary power; or any other means to avoid the danger.

Doctor Owen.

Monstrous Doctrine! altogether unworthy to be Propounded, or to be refuted. Neither did it become *Pareus* (ancient in years, and famous for learning) to deceive the Reader, with an undiscreet confusion of things, which are most disjoyned, and ought to be considered in a different respect. A Surgeon runns a man thorow, the same thing in the same manner is done by a Robber; the one deserves a Reward, the other a Haltar. Sometimes the Prince doth the same thing, and in the same manner that the Spoyler; as often as by force of Arms he reduceth into order an obstinate Enemy of the State, but not both by the same Right; because the Prince hath his Sword for revenge, which the Spoyler doth usurpe for Rapine. Whosoever therefore shall say, the Subject hath the same Right over the Prince that punisheth, that the Traveller hath over the Robber that spoyleth, he hath no forehead. But the Prince offereth violence to some man, upon a cause not sufficiently just, and lawfull; yea altogether unjust and unlawfull; namely, Saul to David, and the innocent Priests; David, to Uriah; Ahab, to Naboth; Joash, to Zachariah; Manasses, to Isaiah; Pilate to Christ; and peradventure, Theodosius to the Thessolonians. Under Saul, David, Ahab, Josh, Manasses, liv'd Preists and Prophets famous for their holinesse, inspired with the holy Spirit. Under Christ liv'd Zacheus, and Nichodemus; Inferior Magistrates, men pious, and expert in Sacred and Politicall matters. No age brought forth more holy, or more orthodoxe Bishops and Priests, then under *Theodosius*;

Theodosius; yet have they not made known to us this way of avoiding the Violence of Tyranny. It is, shall be, and hath been the common opinion of all Catholicke men, agreable to the Writings of the Prophets, the Precept of Christ, the doctrine of the Apostles, and the practise of Christians; that, the King which sins, hath God alone to take vengeance, from whom alone he takes his being; whose Court he cannot decline, and Judgement he cannot elude; he ought not to be violated by men, although he degenerate into a Tyrant, and abuse that power which he hath received from God. Which seeing it is so, it remains, that I weigh well what remains of your new Divinity.

David Paræus.

Because, against whom defence by the Magistrate is lawfull, against them private defence is lawfull in case of necessity; when that which is done by the Magistrate cannot be had, because then, the Laws arme them also, who are private men. But in case of necessity defence is lawfull, by the Inferior Magistrate against the Superior, and by the Superior against the Inferior. Therefore, also then private defence is lawfull.

Doctor Owen.

Paræus follows his old wont. He confounds things different, and unlike, as if they were the same, and by comparing things different, he cunningly draws the unwary Reader into the Trappe. Those things which are involv'd by him in a multitude of words, I will declare more

The absurdity of this reason concerning private defence.

more plainly. The ſonne hath the ſame Power over the Father, that he hath over the Servant; the Wife over the Husband, which ſhe hath over the Handmayde; the Servant over the Maſter which he hath over the Slave; the Marriner over the Ship-Maſter which he hath over the Pirate; The Subject over the Prince, which the Traveller hath over the Robber. He that proves this, ſhall be crown'd with Hellobore, and drinke till he ſurfeit, *The purging Iuice that whole Anticyra affords.*

That which follows, concerning the threefold Power of the Superiour againſt the Inferiour, and the Inferiour againſt the Superiour, and of private revenge againſt them both, is turned over and over, and with it's confuſed turnings, exceeds my capacity, neither have I what to anſwer. Yet the Divine Law hath; which is the Rule of our words and actions, which no man ought to ſwerve from. Concerning the King it is commanded, *Deſtroy him not, for who can lay his hand on the Lords anointed & be guiltleſſe?* 1 Sam. 26. 9. Chriſt the eternall Lawgiver, and the faithfull Interpreter of the Law given; The Apoſtles whom Chriſt endued with the graces of the Holy Spirit, and with infallibility of Judgement, for the direction of all Chriſtians: The truely Apoſtolicall Men, and all Chriſtians, who in the time of the ten Perſecutions, have illuſtrared the whole World with their Faith and Charity, and ſealed the Orthodoxe Doctrine with their Blood: Chriſt, (I ſay) the Apoſtles, and Apoſtolicall Men, all patiently ſuffered Kings moſt infamous for their Tyranny, Wickedneſſe, and Cruelties; and not onely patiently ſuffered, but alſo performed all Honour and Reverence to them; and taught all indifferently to doe the ſame, by Word and Example; *Not*

for

for wrath, but for Conſcience ſake, as in the preſence of the living God, who alone is the Witneſſe (*greater then all exception*) of their innocency, and free Subjection. That which Chriſt taught, and did, a Chriſtian ought not to gainſay; and if he doe (were he an Angell) he ſhall incurre the heavy courſe of an Anathema.

Beſides, the King is the Miniſter of God, and that great Steward, which Chriſt hath ſet over his whole Family. If that Steward ſhall beginne (as that wicked Servant in the Goſpell) to deſpiſe his Lord, to neglect his duty, to ſmite his Fellow-Servants, to eate, drinke and be drunken: it is not in the power of the whole Family, not of the Pope, not of the States of a Kingdome, not of the promiſcuous Vulgar (if they be in the Family of Chriſt) to remove the Steward, conſtituted, and ſet over them all, by their Lord; the comming of him, that appointed him, is to expected; who alone can call the Steward to account, and put him out at his pleaſure. Therefore (*Pareus*) you do talke in vaine, of a lawfull Means to depoſe Kings. *queſt.* 3. *pag.* 49. Yet neither can commend the Author nor deſigne the Executor, nor determine the forme thereof. I inquire for the Authour in the Word of God, not in your Commentary's; which being without witneſſe, is without Reaſon and deſerve no beleife. I deſire the executour, not confirmed by humane Appointment, but by Divine Authority. *It is Adulterate, Impious, and Sacrilegious (ſaith Cyprian) which is inſtituted by humane preſumption, that the divine ordinance ſhould be violated.* That which you inculcate concerning the Brethren of the Kingdome, is a meere Dotage, and has no being but in your braine. God is not the Authour of this Anarchy, neither may man be

The King that Steward which the Lord, not the Servant may caſt out.

the

the Executor. One man compared with another, is either his Superiour, his Equall, or his Inferiour: the Superiour is no way's Subject to the Inferiour; the Inferiour is every way Subject to the Superiour, and an Equall has no Rule over his Equall. That the matter may be the more evident in this Supposition, view well the Jewish Polity, with the degrees and order thereof; the Decurians are above the people; the Quinquagenarians above the Decurians; above them, the Centurians, over whom the Tribunes bear rule; over them the Seventy Elders; of whom *Moses* alone is Judge; who is Subject neither to each severall, nor to all joyntly, but to God alone. *He himselfe* (that I may use the words of Ambrose) *was held by no Laws, because Kings are free from the bonds of offences; and are not cal'd to punishment by any Laws being, secure in the power of their Empery.* Thus he upon the 50 Psalme.

The manner of the Jewish Polity.

As concerning the Meanes themselves; I deny not, but that there are some ordained by Christ; which the Saints long since have used, and Christians ought alwayes to use: such as are Flight, Patience, Prayers and Teares. Christ himselfe sought his safety by Flight; The Martyrs offer'd up their Soules to God with patience, and by Patience the Confessours preserv'd the Faith entire. By Prayers the Sons of the Church have still overthrown the Tyrants, whose Ensigne-Bearer, and Captain of the Lords Host Saint Ambrose has these words. *I know not how to warre, I know how to greive; I can weepe, I can mourne; against Arms, Souldiers, Gothes, my teares are my weapons, otherways I neither can nor ought to resist.* In his Oration against *Auxentius*, post Epist. 32. Basil the great well appointed for Battell, *I will not* (saith he)

The meanes to avoyd or destroy Tyranny.

he) *betray the Faith through the losse of Goods, through Banishment or Death; I have no wealth more than a torne Garment, and a few Bookes; I sojourne on Earth, as ever about to leave it; my weake Body having received one stripe, will overcome the sense of Paine and all Torments.* In *Lonicer. theatr.* historic. pag. 154.

To him adhears *Chrysostome*, no light-armed Souldier, *when I was driven from the City, I said within my selfe, if the Queen will have me a Banished Man, let her banish me: the Earth is the Lords and the fulnesse thereof; and if she will cut me into two, let her cut me;* Isaiah *suffer'd the like, if she will cast me into the Sea, I will call to mind* Jonah: *if she will cast me into the Furnace, the three Children suffer'd the same: if she will throw me to the Wild Beasts, let her throw me, I will remember* Daniel *cast into the Den of Lyons. If she will stone me, let her stone me; I have* Stephen *the Proto-Martyr my companion. If she will take away my head, let her take it; I have* Iohn Baptist *my Companion; and if she will take away my Substance, let her take it; naked came I out of my Mothers wombe and naked shall I returne.* in Epist. ad *Cyriacum.*

Let *Bernard* that stout Champion come upon the Stage; *whatsoever you please to doe with your Kingdome, with your Soul, and your Crown; we the Sonns of the Church can by no means dissemble the injury's, contempt, and trampling upon our Mother. Verily we will stand and fight unto Death (if need be) for our Mother, with those arms that are lawfull, not with shields and with swords, but with prayers and teares unto God.* Epist. 221. Those men scarce hoped for Glory in the (*Heavenly*) Country, unlesse it were by patience in the way (*on Earth*:) they would not be delicate

licate Members under a thorny Head. Since *Paræus* is conceited otherwiſe, let him raiſe himſelfe a Ladder, that he may climbe up to Heaven alone.

David Paræus.

The ſecond Reaſon.

Becauſe, to take away publicke or private defence, againſt the horrible cruelty of Tyrants, were to confirme their licentiouſneſſe infinite; whereby civill Society would be plainly deſtroy'd, and eſpecially the Church, becauſe the worſe part would take away the better.

Doctor Owen.

Publique or private defence by Arms, how dangerous.

The ſecond Reaſon, is grievous to Kings, unproſperous to Subjects, and odious to all Peaceable Men; becauſe it will make the multitude ſo inſolent and unruly, that they will obey neither the Laws, nor their Kings, if they ſhall diſpleaſe them, and will open not a Window onely, but even a large Gate to men, for the ſtill deviſing and attempting new Matters, under the pretence of reſtoring the Common-Wealth. For the reverence of Supreame Power being taken away, and Majeſtie contemn'd, wicked hands will ſoone be upon any man, and the beſt Kings ſhall periſh by the ſame fate, that Tyrants; So in humane things there ſhall be nothing kept ſacred, or inviolate; as the Ancients have obſerved, and they who are now alive do perceive and bewaile. The Society of men is made firme, and the communion of Saints preſerved not by Humane Prudence, but by the Divine

vine Providence; that it cannot be destroyed by any cruelty of Tyranny. He that is our God doth permit Tyranny when and how long he will's; and doth dispose of the Ministry of Tyrants to the Punishment of Impiety, and Tryall of Faith: Neither is he lesse mercyfull and gracious, when he chastneth our offences by cruell Tyrants, for the salvation of the perishing Soule; than when he bestow's Blessings upon us by mercyfull Princes, for the comfort of this present Life. Neither can the worse part take away the better; becausse God will not give his holy ones *as a prey unto their teeth*, who casts his Vessell into the Furnace of Tribulation, to strengthen not to breake it. and Tyranny doth keepe under *Gods people*, that they may be pressed for their amendment, not oppressed for their ruine; whence *Theodoret* saith, *As often as Tyrants sit at the sterne of the Common-Wealth, or cruell Lords administer the Houshold affaires, the wrath of God is to be appeased, by holy Prayer, and serious amendment of Life; and a mitigation of the present difficulties and troubles is to be prayed for.* Thus he, de provident. orati. 7. which good and wholesome Remedy the ancient Christians had tryall of, whose Glory was in the Crosse, and whose Triumph was in Patience; who as long as they could, they willingly enjoyed the benefit of Life; and when they could not, they willingly endured the sharpenesse of Death; alwayes faithfull to their God, in undergoing Martyrdome, least they should offend the Divine Majesty: Loyall to the King; not, in doing the Sinne he commanded, but in suffering the Punishment he inflicted. *Pareus*, he describes a Remedy worse than the Disease; wherewith, as it were with a Butchers Knife, he cuts off the King from the Common-Wealth,

How the ancient Christians behaved themselves under Tyrants.

and makes the inferiour Members to rule over the Head, even againſt Nature; by ſubjecting the Supreame Magiſtrate to the ordinary Power of the Inferiour Magiſtrate, and when this Power cannot be implored, to the private revenge of the Tumultuous People, which Remedy God did neither inſtiture before the Law, nor eſtabliſh in the Law, nor vouchſafe by the Prophets, nor reveal by Chriſt, nor promulge by the Apoſtles, nor publiſh by the Catholike Fathers, nor decree by Orthodox Councells, whereby I the more wonder, that this man, (of no ſmall learning, and verſt in the Sacred Scriptures, Ancient Fathers, and Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory) ſhould ſo raſhly turne aſide from the Law of God, the Goſpell of Chriſt, the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and opinion of the purer Church, to the errour of the Modern Anti-Monarchians.

David Paræus.

Without doubt, the Law of God doth not ſo eſtabliſh the licentiouſneſſe of Tyrants, that in the meane time humane ſociety be deſtroyed

Doctor Owen.

Note. God ſhall henceforward ſit idle in Heaven, neither taking care of the Earthly Kingdomes, nor holy Church; let all periſh, and come to ruine, if the Ambitious States, or Seditious Commons do not come in to helpe. What elſe is this, but to exalt the Arm of Fleſh, the Wiſdome of this World, the humane (that I may not ſay Deviliſh) Power above God himſelfe, and againſt his divine Ordinance,

Ordinance; to the ſubverſion of Piety, the deſtruction of Peace, and ruine of all Common-Wealths. All Lawes are either given by God, or eſtabliſhed by Man, that men may live peaceably and holily in a Common-wealth; and that thoſe things may be avoyded which doe hinder either Peace or Holineſſe, I appeale to your own Conſcience *Paræus*, is it not better, ſafer, and ſecurer, to the propogation of piety, and preſervation of peace, to ſuffer the Tyranny of one (though more cruell than *Nero*) than to ſet all the Members of the Common-Wealth at odds, and to caſt the whole State upon the greateſt and moſt certain Dangers. For the King cannot be ſo deſtitute and forlorne, but that he will have many of the States of his Kingdome to be joyned with him, and companions of his wickedneſſe; with whoſe helpe he being aſſiſted, he cannot forcibly be reduced unto order, without bloody Slaughters, and the publike Calamity. But a Kingdome never becomes ſo miſerable under that King, though moſt cruell, as for the moſt part it happens to be, in a civill Warre; So that God ſeems in nothing more to have provided for the publike good, than by ſetting the Superiour above the Inferiour, and ſubjecting the Inferiour to the Superiour; that no man preſume to riſe up againſt the King, whom God hath placed above all; and being ſo placed he hath not left to humane Tryall, but reſerved to his divine Judgement. He blaſphemes therefore againſt Heaven, who attempts evil in heart, mouth, or hand, againſt a Tyrant juſtly poſſeſt of his Kingdome.

Gods providence in the order of Superiority.

And thus farre concerning the Propoſitions of *Paræus*, and the Reaſons of them, not good and well applyed Reaſons but weake and frivolous; framed to the deceiving

ing of the People, and ruining of Kings, and their Kingdomes. I will now returne, to the confirming the truth of my Assertion concerning the absolute power of Kings.

Those men agree well amongst themselves concerning the thing; it is concerning the manner, that *Bellarmine Danæus* and *Paræus* do contend: neither may we see the contrary in the rest of the Followers of both Sects. I insist onely upon these three because they are of so great note amongst their followers, that none of the Papists will contradict *Bellarmine*; none of the Puritans gainsay *Danæus* and *Paræus*: Know these and know all.

The first Reason of the absolute power of Kings, from the Dictate of Nature.

Nature it selfe doth oppose this Puritan-Papisticall Tenet: from which fountain, the Authority of Rule, the Necessity of Obedience; the Honesty of Life, the filthinesse, and punishment of Vice; the goodnesse and reward of Vertue do streame forth. And those Wise Men (whose Prudence in making Laws Antiquity so much admires) discerning good from evill, just from unjust, honest from dishonest have published most wholesome Laws. Whence *Basil* the great: *The Princes of the whole Earth are sacred, even for the propriety of nature it selfe to good; who her selfe bestows this Empery upon them.* in psal. 44. *In this*, saith Cyprian, *whole Nature doth agree: there is one King to the Bees, one Captaine among the Flocks, one Governour among the Herds.* de vanitate Idol.

St *Ambrose* (lib. 6. cap. 21. concerning the works of the six Dayes) he obserues an admirable dispensation of

of Nature in the hives of Bees. *Bees defend their Kings with the chiefeſt protection, they think it honourable to dye for the King: the King being in ſafety they alter not their judgement, they change not their mind; the King being loſt they forſake their faith of keeping their offices; becauſe he who had the principallity is ſlaine.* The ſame hath *Hierome.* lib. 1 epiſt. 3. Let him that fights againſt Monarchs goe to the Bees, let him conſider their wayes that he may learne to *feare God and honour the King.* From the dictate of Nature, I haſten to the Law of Nations: the Lawyers call that the Law of Nations which is equally obſerved by all Nations. Whence *Auguſtine*; *It is a generall covenant of humane ſociety, to obey their Kings.* confeſſ. lib. 3. cap. 8.

The ſecond Reaſon of the immunity of Kings from the Law of Nations.

Although the Acts of Ancient Kings, for a great part of them are loſt by the injurie of the Times, or ſloth of Men; yet from them that are extant in the Reliques of Hiſtoryes, it will evidently appear, both that all Nations have obeyed their Kings, and that all Kings have exerciſed an abſolute Authority, circumſcribed with no bounds of conditions. Let the Annalls of all Nations be turned over, it ſhall no where be found, that ſuch a bridle is caſt over Kings; that they muſt ſubmit their ſcepters to the will of the People; or that they ſhould receive from the Nobles, a Law to moderate their Royall Juriſdiction. Which thing *Cicero* hath obſerv'd in his oration for King *Deiotarus*, before *Cæſar* moſt expert in the Law and Hiſtory's. *It is ſo unuſuall a thing* (ſaith

(ſaith the Oratour) *for a King to be guilty of a capitall crime, that before this time it was never heard of.* *Artabanus* alſo Vice-Roy of Perſia (not without a Jeere, deriding the lightneſſe of the Græcians) mocked *Themiſtocles: You Grecians* (ſaith he) *care for nothing more than Liberty and Equallity; but we Perſians do think it moſt excellent, and moſt ſacred of all things, to give Honour and Reverence to the King, as to the Image of the living God; who rules and governs this whole World.* What *Artabanus* delivered by the inſtinct of Nature, *Auguſtine* and others of the Ancients delivered by the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſayings, produced in their place will have the more Weight.

That which thoſe Politicall Divines do ſo often repeate concerning the Lacedemonians, Athenians, and Romans, is a meere dreame. After that *Theopompus*, the laſt King of the Spartans had joyned to his Sonne, and his future Succeſſors, the *Ephori*; the name of King became an empty Title amongſt the Lacedemonians: having altogether loſt the authority, which before *Theopompus* all the Kings had abſolute and moſt free. The Athenians after that they ceaſed to be under Kings, they endured no kind of Government long, being impatient of the preſent, and deſirous of new; at length they were ruined by an Anarchy. The People of Rome bewiched with the ſweetneſſe of liberty, after the example of the Græcians, they changed their Kingdome into a Democracy; and eſtabliſhed a Law, never to reduce their Kings. But by their forraigne Warres, and civill Diſcords they learnt at laſt, that there was no Remedy for their decaying Country, but to be governed by one. Therefore they created a dictator, of a free Power and

Rule,

Rule; free from giving any account of his Words and Actions: from whom there ſhould be no appeale, and to whom was permitted to impriſon, puniſh with bonds, or death, any man of the Nobles, or of the Patrician Order, the cauſe not declared.

What the Puritans have deviſed concerning the States of the Kingdom in England, France, and Scotland, I dare not call them old wives fables, ſince that they are ſhamful lyes ſo lately broached. For how great the Power, and how ſacred the Majeſty of our Kings is, I had rather draw from the full fountain of the ancient Parliaments of this Kingdom, and of men moſt expert in the Laws of England, living in former ages; then from the muddy ſtanding pooles of Modern Politicks. There is in *Thomas* de *Walſingham*, an Epiſtle in the name of the whole Kingdome, from the Parliament held at Lincolne, about the Yeare 1301. inſcribed to the Romane Biſhop; wherein the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, with all the Commons doe ſpeake to the Biſhop concerning the preheminence of the King of England in theſe words following; *We know (moſt holy Father) and it is a thing notorius, from the firſt inſtitution of the Kingdome of England as well in the times of the Brittains as of the Engliſh, that certaine and direct power of Rule hath belonged to the King; and that the Kings of England by the free preheminence of the Royall Dignity, and by the cuſtome obſerved at all times, have not anſwered, neither ought to anſwer any thing, before any Eccleſiaſticall or Secular Judge, &c.*

Henry de *Bracton* Lord Cheife Juſtice of the Kings Bench (under *Henry* the third) a Man moſt learned in the Engliſh Laws, hath theſe words: *There are under the*

the King freemen and ſervants; and all under him, and he under none, but God onely. If a man be injured by the King, (ſince no writ can run againſt the King) there is place left for petition, that he would correct and amend his fact: if he do not, it ſhall be a ſufficient puniſhment, that he may expect God his avenger; Concerning Royall Charters, or the Acts of Kings, neither private perſons nor Juſtices ought to diſpute. This is cited in that Oration of the moſt honourable Lord *Eliſmer*, Viſcount *Barcley*, late Chancellour of England; moſt expert in the Laws of England; which oration he made in the Exchequer chamber in the yeare 1609. pag. 108. it is cited alſo by the Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter de uſurp, pontif. poteſt. lib. 1. cap. 8

What was the authority of the States of France, in former times over their Kings which offended, *Paſquerius* doth relate, lib. 1. antiquit. Gallic. *Lewis* the 11. did urge the Senatours and Councellours, that they would be the Authours of a certain Edict, which they refuſed to doe, becauſe it ſeemed to be unjuſt. The King full of wrath, threatned death to the whole Senate; *Vacarius* the Preſident of the Councell, approched the King with the whole Senate clothed in Purple: the King aſtoniſhed at the comming of the Senate all in Purple; he aſked, wherefore they came and what they would? *Vacarius* anſwered for them all, *We ſeek for death, which thou ſo wrathfully threatned us with: Know this, O King! we will aſſuredly dye, rather than do any thing againſt our Conſciences and duties.* Thus *Paſquerius*. Thoſe States had learned, not to puniſh the King offending; but to lay down their lives at the will and command of the King, And in their generall Councell held at Paris

Anno

Anno Domini 1614. it was propounded; *That there was no earthly power, ſpirituall or temporall, which hath any right over the Kings of France, to remove the ſacred perſons of Kings from their dignity, or to abſolve their Subjects from their Loyalty and Obedience, which they for ever owe them, upon any cauſe or pretence whatſoever,*

When the Scotch Nobility had endeavoured Sedition againſt *Ferchardus* the moſt wicked King of the Scots, *Colmannus* the Biſhop did reſtrain them, and admoniſhed the King; that the divine vengeance would ſhortly overtake him: The King a while after being wounded at a hunting, & ſick of the louſie diſeaſe, he cryed out; That all the evills were befalne him, becauſe he hearkned not to the holy Biſhop, when he ſo well admoniſhed him. Afterwards *Colmannus* comforting him he repented, and quietly departed. Well done, good and faithfull Biſhop! Thou recalledſt the People and Nobles from Inſurrection, thou repreſſedſt the Seditious, thou didſt openly admoniſh the King, and that modeſtly, yet freely too; thou didſt not doe it privily with raylings to the ſtirring up the people; Thou perſwadedſt, that he is not to be chaſtiſed at the pleaſure of the States, but left to the divine Revenge. I will adde ſome heads of the Royall Law among the Scots out of *Hector Boethius* lib. 12.

In profane mattert, let no man determine the Law, but whom the Royall Majeſty ſhall appoint.

Let all Law be determined, Aſſemblies cited, Councells called in the name of the King alone.

Let no man obtain the Magiſtracy, by any other than the Kings authority.

If any man ſhall ſweare Allegiance to any but the King, let the crime be Capitall.

Let no man poſſeſſe ground, farme, or field by any other then the Royall Authority.

If any man ſhall enter league with another, profeſſing faith and loyalty, againſt any man, let him be puniſhed with death.

If any man without the command of the King, ſhall have men in Arms, let him expiate his crime with death.

If any of the Nobles ſhall contract affinity with thoſe of another Dominion, let him be puniſhed with Death. Theſe, and more like unto theſe are to be found in *Boethius.*

As for other Kings and Kingdomes, let them look to it whom it concerns. So that we have the Imperiall highnes of our Lord and King (then which the Sunne hath not ſeen any thing more juſt, more learned, or more holy,) preſerved whole and entire againſt all the machinations of Papiſts, and of Puritans. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord, who in theſe our day's, (wherein he foreſaw ſo many ſcandalls of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks would ariſe) hath placed King *James* in the height of this Dominion to the comfort of the Chriſtian World, the increaſe of the Catholick Faith, and the ſafety of the Churches Peace; that the Royall Power and the Sacerdotall Office may ſtill flouriſh.

The third Reaſon of the Royall Prerogative from the authority of the Civill Law.

Amongſt the Interpreters of the Civill Law, doe every where meet us, theſe expreſſions of the Emperour, that he is the a *Lord of the World*, b *Gods Vicar on earth*, c *the*

c *the living Law*, d *the fulneſſe of Power*, e *the free and* f *abſolute Power*; g *Diſputation concerning the Priviledge of the Prince is ſacrilegious*, h *that which pleaſeth the King hath the force of a Law*, i *the power of the Prince is not to be reſtrained*, k *if the Prince ſhall do any thing out of the fulneſſe of Power, no man may ſay, why doſt thou ſo?*

a *The Emperour doth puniſh his Subjects whereſoever they offend*; and the Reaſon is, *becauſe he is of Right the Lord of the World.* So *Baldus* C. lib. 4. tit. 42. de Eunuchis.

b *Although he be the Vicar of God. Baldus* C. lib. 6. tit. 8. de jure aureorum annulorum.

c *Jacobus Omphalius* lib. de officio & poteſt. princip. c. 10

d *The Prince hath the fulneſſe of Power. Baldus* again lib. 4. tit. 52. de commun. rerum alienat.

e *The Prince is free from the Laws, becauſe he is ſubject to none neither is judged by others. Hoſtienſis* Sum. lib. 1. Rubr. 32. de officio legati. and he cites ff. lib. 1. tit. 3. l. 30. where the ſame words are had.

f *The King in his Kingdome can do all things, even out of the fulneſſe of power. Corſetus Siculus* tract. de poteſt. Reg. part. 5. num. 66.

g *He that diſputes concerning the power of the Prince, whether he hath done well, or no; he is ſacrilegious*: So the Marginiſt upon *Angelus Peruſinus* C. lib. 9. tit. 29. de crimine ſacrilegii l. 2.

h *Inſtit. lib. 1. tit. 2. de jure natural. Gent. & civil.* and *Claudius Cantiuncula* in the ſame place.

i *To reſtraine the Supreame Power, belongs to them who neither acknowledge the Imperiall Power, nor how great a diſtance their is between a private fortune, and the Regall*

Dignity. Doctores in l. 3. bene a Zenone C. lib. 7. tit. 37. *de quadriennii proscriptione.*

k *The Prince is bound to no forme, neither is a Reason to be required of him, why doſt thou ſo?* (Baldus C. lib. 7. tit. 50. *ſententiam reſcindi non poſſe*: l. 3. *impetrata.*) *Becauſe ſeeing the King is the Cauſe of Cauſes, a cauſe is not to be required of his power; ſince that of the firſt cauſe there is no cauſe giuen.* So Baldus again decret. l. 2. tit. 16. *Vt lite prudente nihil innovetur.* upon 3 Eccleſ. num. 7.

Laſtly, *William Barclay* doth inferre from *Bartolus, Baldus, Paulus, Caſtrenſis, Lodovicus Romanus, Alexander, Felinus, Albericus* and others; *That the Prince upon certaine knowledge can doe all things, above the Law, without the Law, and againſt the Law, the Prince alone may conſtitute an univerſall Law, the Prince oweth an account to God onely. The Prince is free from the Laws. And it is a raſh thing to deſire the Royall Majeſty ſhould be limited with any bounds.* contra Monarchum. l. 3. cap. 14.

There are more of this ſort in *Pet. Greg. Tholoſan.* de *Repub.* throughout his ſixt book. In *Adam Blacuodæus* in his Apology for Kings c. 25. & 31. and in *Adrian Saravia de imperandi authorit. lib.* 2. *c.* 16. *&* 17: from whence it doth neceſſarily follow, that the authority of the People is nothing, the authority of the Inferiour Magiſtrate is above the People, but below the King; by whom he is, and to whom he is Subject: but the Royall authority is free and abſolute. For that Power is free which cannot be condemned by mans judgement, nor ought to be compelled: and the abſolute power, is (under God) Supreame, in every part perfect, which can neither be encreaſed, nor ought to be deminiſhed without offering injury to the divine Diety, becauſe God is the

Author

Author and Ordainer of it. For where there is a Majority, there is a power of commanding; to the reſt there remains a neceſſity of obeying; as the Lawyers ſpeak.

The fourth Reaſon from the Cannon Law.

Many things are alledged in the behalfe of Kings even from the Cannon Law alſo, againſt the inſolent haughtineſſe of the Pope. Firſt it is infer'd; *that the ſecular Princes are not ſubject to the Pope; becauſe God hath diſpoſed Secular affaires not by the Pope, but by the Emperours.* diſt. 8. cap. quo jure. Innocent the third *doth acknowledge the authority of the Kings of France, which he neither intends to diſturbe or deminiſh.* de judiciis cap. Novit. the ſame Pope alſo confeſſeth, *that the ſame King hath no Superiour in temporall things.* qui Filii ſunt legittimi. cap. per venerabilem. Honorius the third *preſuppoſeth himſelfe a fit Judge concerning the birth-day of the Queen of Cyprus: but judgement concerning the right of ſucceſſion (he confeſſeth) doth belong not to the Pope, but to the King.* de ordin. cognit. cap. Tuam. *Alexander* the third, he would not take knowledge of the poſſeſſions of ſome Engliſh men contending before him, *leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to detract from the right of the King of England.* Qui Filii ſunt legittimi, cap. Cauſam.

To whom knowledge concerning the Rights of private men doth not belong; he ought not to judge of Kings, and their Royall Crownes, and Kings who would not acknowledge the Roman Biſhop, (bearing himſelfe the Vicar of Chriſt and the Univerſall Biſhop) their Superiour; they will not endure the States of the Kingdome

dome, or the promiſcuous multitude (a wilde beaſt of many heads) to be above them. You will ſay, what then? ſhall the Royall Majeſty be immenſe incloſed with no Limits? not liable to be puniſhed by the Pope, nor by the Nobles of the Kingdome, nor at leaſt by the whole multitude? not at all. The King has the place of God on Earth, and hath his authority from Heaven; he acts the Perſon, and beares the Image of the eternall King: to whom alone he is bound to render an account of his words and actions; being ſecure from all conſtraint thorow the Majeſty of his Royall Dignity. Which I ſhall evince by moſt firme reaſons drawn out of the old and new Teſtament.

The fift Reaſon from ſacred Scripture

What High Preiſt; what Synode of Preiſts; what Senate of the Nobles, or what promiſcuous Multitude ever excerciſed the *ordinary Power* againſt *Saul* defiled with all impiety? againſt *David* guilty of Adultery, and Murder? againſt *Solomon* guilty of Poligamy and Idolatry? againſt other Kings of Judah, and Iſrael, miſerably profaning the Temple of God, wickedly polluting the divine Worſhip, drawing the People in heapes to Idolatry, drunken with the blood of the Prieſts, of the Prophets, of the Nobles and all innocent Men; even moſt defiled with all kind of wickedneſſe? *David* he ſpared *Saul*, and becauſe he had cut off the skirt of his Garment, *his heart ſmote him & he greatly trembled. Ieremiah* taught the Captives not to fight againſt the King, but to pray for the King. *Ahaſuerus* had by his publicke decree deſtinated all the Jews unto ſlaughter, at an appointed day;

day; the People fortified themſelves with Prayers, with Teares, with Faſting, with Sackcloth and Aſhes; not with Revilings, not with Lyings in wait, not with Treaſons, not with Arms. *Mordecai* did not admoniſh the Queen to take away the Tyrant by poyſon, but by faſtings and prayers to God, and humble ſupplication to the King, to avert the heavy falling of that miſcheife which hanged over them: which *Buchanan* doth not deny, in whoſe ſeditious dialogue concerning the Right of Kings with the Scots, are theſe words; *The Kings of the Jews were not puniſhed by the Subjects, becauſe from the beginning they were not created by the Subjects, but given them by God, by the beſt right therefore he that was the author of the Dignity, the ſame ſhould be the exactor of puniſhment.* Thus Buchanan.

But ſeing he could not well unlooſe this knot; he cut's it into two with the ſword of a Lying tongue; to wit, *That the Scotch Kings are not given by God, but created by the People; and that whatſoever right they challenge to themſelves, they have it from the Commons; and that the Multitude has the ſame right over the Kings which the Kings have over each one of the Multitude.* Tell me *Buchanan*, I pray; why ſhall not the Kings of all other Nations have the ſame immunity that the Jews? they alſo have no Authour, and accknowledge no Authour but God. *Moſes* doth witnes *that God the Creator of the whole world, preſently after the Flood, ordained the Sword to be the avenger of Bloodſhed; and eſtabliſhed Servitude to be the puniſhment of the Father that was mocked.* In which all the parts of civill Juriſdiction, and Royall Power are Synecdochically underſtood. Job alſo doth witneſſe, *that God alone it is who unlooſeth the bond of Kings,*

and

and girdeth their loynes with a girdle. I ſuppoſe he ſpeaketh concerning the Kings of the Gentiles, the Polity of the Jewes, was not as yet conſtituted by the hand of *Moſes, by me Kings raigne, and Princes decree juſtice,* ſaith the Holy Ghoſt, *Prov.* 8. Chriſt witneſſeth that *Pilat's* power *was given him from Heaven.* Saint Paul hath writ, *that there is no power, but of God. From him is the Emperour, from whom he is Man, before he be Emperour,* ſaith Tertullian. *From him he hath his power, from whom he hath his ſpirit*: And as Irenius hath it. *The Earthly Kingdome is appointed by God for the benefit of the Gentiles, and by whoſe command Men are borne, by his command Kings are made.* Auguſtine is yet more plain and more full. *It is God alone, who gives earthly Kingdomes both to the good and to the bad, and this not raſhly, or as it were by chance, becauſe he is God; but according to the order of things, and of the times; hidden from us, but moſt open to himſelfe.* Thus Auguſtine de Civ. Dei. lib. 4. cap. 33. Yet do the Papiſts and Puritans deviſe many things out of the Scriptures, (a thing uſuall with Hereticks) contrary to the genuine meaning thereof; with which I will not detaine you; they are ſo unſound and unſavory that they will deceive no man, but ſuch an one, as is voyde of Reaſon, or altogether ignorant of ancient Hiſtory.

I have already ſpoken of *Paræus. Bellarmine, and Danæus*, do moſt of all inſiſt upon Examples of the tenne Tribes who revolted from their naturall King to a man of ſervile condition of the Men of Libnah, and the Edomites, who rebel'd againſt *Joram.* And of the Kings *Amaziah, Uzziah*, and of the Queeen *Athaliah*, to which I anſwer: The defection of the tenne Tribes

from their naturall King to *Jeroboam*; the Rebellion of the Edomites, and of the men of Libnah; and the slaughter of *Amaziah* by the men of Jerusalem, doe containe the Truth of the thing done, but not the equity of the fact, as *Augustine* most truly. *We may not therefore believe a thing must be done, because we reade that it hath been done; least we violate the Precept, whilst we follow the Example.* In the History of *Uzziah* and *Athaliah*, I see no difficulty; nothing is there done, which is not according to the equity of Reason, and the prescript of the Law. *Uzziah* being diseased could not be conversant in the affaires of the Kingdome; by reason of the contagiousnesse of his disease he is removed from the company of the Courtiers, and assembly of the People. In the mean while his Sonne govern's the Commonwealth in his Fathers stead, yet before the death of *Uzziah*, he neither affected the name nor assumed the title of King. And as for *Athaliah*, *Jehoida* the Chiefe Preist shewed the surviving Sonne of the deceased King (whom he had six yeares hid from the fury of *Athaliah*, the Murderesse of the Royal ofspring) to the Princes and Centurions whom he had gathered together at Jerusalem. They all acknowledge the Child their true King; being so acknowledged they crown him, being crowned they salute him with joyfull acclamations, *God save the King*: after that, neither by their own, nor by the Priestly Authority, but in the name of the lately crown'd King they deposed *Athaliah*, as guilty of Treason and Murder, by force and arms. *Jehoiada* acted the chiefe part, but not as chiefe Priest, but as chiefe of the Tribe of Levi, being ancient in yeares, expert in the divine Law, provident against the dangers which are imminent, the Pre-

 server

ſerver of the young King and the next Kinſman. The law of God doth not permit to touch Kings with a violent hand, to revile them with a raylingtongue, or to thinke of them with a malicious heart. The Goſpell of Chriſt forbids reſiſting Tyrants; *Peter* and *Paul* forbid reſiſting Perſecutors and Slayers of Chriſtians. *Bellarmine* anſwers, that Laicks of what order or dignity ſoever they are, are thus bound by the Law, Goſpell and Apoſtolicall Precepts, but not the Roman Biſhop, the Vicar of Chriſt, and the univerſall Lord of the whole World: for which he is ſtiled by *Danæus*, the grand Impoſtor, a flatterer of *Capitoline Jove*, a Lyer, a Blaſphemer, and a Mad-Man. But (ſaith *Pareus* in his foreſaid book, pag. 49. *The Pope and the Church have not power to depoſe a King that is an Infidell, becauſe deposing ought to be according to the Laws. But the Laws do not grant this power to the Pope and to the Church, but to the Brethren of the Kingdome.* (and as *Danæus* hath it) *it belongs to the godly States in every Common-wealth to chaſtiſe thoſe Kings which offend, and depoſe thoſe which are obſtinate.* The Pontificians againe cry out, a Puritan, by whom he is ſtiled an Atheiſt, a Politician, and Seditious; and affirme that this power of chaſtiſing Kings and deposing them, doth no wayes properly belong to the Barons, or Peeres of the Kingdome or to the Multitude, for the defect of coactive Juriſdiction, which Vaſſalls (for ſo they ſpeak) have not against their Lords. So *Jaco. Anthon. Marta*, de juriſdict. lib. 1. c. 23. num. 18. and *Carerius* de poteſt. Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 3. num. 6. Whether (Learned Sirs) will you have the Pope, or the Popular State, the Avenger and Judge of wicked Kings. Neither (I confeſſe ingeniouſly) doth

pleaſe

pleaſe me. But that I may ingratiate my ſelfe into their favour, whom I ſo lately provoked, I ſuppoſe both opinions to be true, that all Kings Emperours and ſupreame Magiſtrates are obnoxious to the Pontifician, and to the Tribunitian Power. Yet that any man be juſtly condemned, the courſe of the Court it ſelfe doth require theſe two things; the deſert of the Crime, and the order of Power, I would have thoſe Puritan-Papiſts to tell us, from whence this Pontificiall, and Popular power is.

Without doubt it is not from Chriſt, who yeilded both obedience and tribute to *Tyberius Cæſar*, no good Emperour; who reproved *Peter* ſmiting with the ſword and commanded him to put it up. Not from *Paul* who will have every ſoule ſubject to the higher Powers. Not from *Peter* who ſubjecteth all, without difference, to the King, and to thoſe (not Tribunes which are conſtituted by the People, not Legates which are ſent out from the Pope,) but Magiſtrates which are appointed by the King: from whence it neceſſarily followes; that all coactive power, and ſecular dignity doth iſſue from the King. whoſe ſacred Majeſty he that violates, ſhall be guilty of treaſon not ſo much againſt the humane as againſt the divine Majeſty, and what *Bernard* long ſince ſaid, (*ad Archiepiſcop. Senonenſ.*) may I now ſay to the Commonalty and Nobility; *Let every Soul be ſubject; if every ſoule, then yours; who hath exempted you from the generality? he that endeavours to exempt attempts to deceive, reſt not upon their counſells who though they be Chriſtians, yet thinke it a diſgrace either to follow the example, or obey the precepts of Chriſt.* Epiſt. 24.

The sixth Reason from the Authority of the Fathers.

In the primitive Church of an unspotted faith, beautified with candid innocency, and purple Martyrdome there is a deepe silence of this power. Indeed those Ancients choose to suffer any thing for righteousnesse-sake, and to be crowned with Martyrdome, rather than by repelling violence with force, or by resisting publicke Authority to be accounted guilty of impiety against God, or rebellion against the Emperours.

Justin Martyr in his Apology for Christians to *Antonius Pius* describes the duty of Subjects. *That we may worship the true God* (saith he) *we willingly obey you Emperours, whom we acknowledge Kings and Princes, and we pray that there may appeare in you equall wisdome joyned with your Royall Power.* Tertullian also to Scapula President of Carthage. *Concerning the Majesty of the Emperour we are defamed, yet cannot the Christians be found to be either Albinians, Nigrians, or Cassians; a Christian is no mans enemy, much lesse the Emperors; whom (knowing him to be constituted by God) it is necessary that he reverence, and honour, and that he desire his safety, with the whole Roman Empires, we reverence the Emperour therefore, as second to God; and what he is, he hath received from God, inferiour onely to God, &c.* The same Author in his Apologeticke relates the prayers and devotions of the Christians; For the Emperour persecuting the Church; *The Christians with their Arm's spread because they are innocent, with their heads bared because they blush not; lastly from their hearts they pray for all Emperours, a long life, a secure Empire, a safe home, Valiant*

liant Armyes, a faithfull Senate, a loyall People, a peaceable World, and whatsoever is the desire and wish of Man, and of Cesar. The Founders of the Presbytery, were wont to pray otherwayes in Scotland. From the Guysian blood good Lord deliver us. The most desperate Contrivers of that Powder-Treason, prayed otherways in England, whom I think it were fit they were purg'd with Hellebore rather then refuted with Reason.

Holy *Athanasius* speaking of the supreame Empery of Kings hath these words (*ad Antioch. quest.* 55.) *As God is King and Emperour over all the World, and doth exercise a power over all things which are in Heaven and in Earth; so is the Prince and King set over earthly things, who of his owne accord doth what he will, even as God himselfe.*

The day would faile me if I should recite to you the testimonies of *Ignatius*, *Arnobius*, *Irœneus*, *Lactantius*, *Ambrose*, *Hierome*, *Basil*, *Hillary*, *Chrysostome*, *Nazianzen*, *Cyrill*, *Optatus*, *Milevetanus*, *Leo* the first, *Fulgentius*, *Gregory* the first, *Bernard* and others. And *Augustine* shall be one for all, Epist. 42. (ad fratres *Madaur.*) *Ye see the Temples of Idols, partly decayed without repaire, partly thrown down, partly shut up, partly changed to other uses, and the Idols themselves either broken, or burnt, or destroyed, and the very powers of this world, (which sometime for these Idols sake persecuted the Christian people) overcome and subdued by Christians, not resisting but dying.*

The seventh Reason from the Authority of Protestants.

The Protestants vary not an haire's breadth from the Doctrine

Doctrin of the Ancient Church. Yet is it an usuall thing with the Papists, to accuse the Church (purg'd from the dregs of Popery) both of defection from the Catholike Faith, and of Sedition in a constituted Polity. Hear from Cardinall *Alanus* the common calumny of the Papists (*in respons. ad Instit. Brittan. c. 4. The Protestants* (saith the Cardinall) *desperate and factious men, So long as they have Princes and Kings indulgent to their wills, they know well how to use that prosperous estate of Fortune: but if their Princes crosse their desires, or the Laws be against them, presently they breake the bonds of Loyalty, despise Majesty every where, they rage with Slaughters, Firings, and Plunderings, and run headlong into the contempt of all divine and humane things.* Thus he. To the wiping off this foule calumny, I will set down a few sayings of a few men, that the Adversaryes may blush, if they have not wholly cast off all shame of Man, and feare of God. As for the followers of the Presbytery, I number them with the Jesuits (whose manners they imitate) rather then with the Protestants, I call God to witnesse, I never yet found any man devoted to the Idol of the Presbytery, who was not as great an enemy to the Regall Majesty, as to the Episcopall Dignity.

Sleidan doth expresse the opinion of *Luther* at large, com. lib. 5. From whence I have taken these few words: *No man* (saith Luther) *who moves Sedition, can be excused, although he have a just cause; he must repaire to the Magistrate, and attempt nothing privately. All Sedition is contrary to Gods precept, who disalowes, and detest's it.* Thus he.

Philip *Melanthon* neither thought, nor spake otherwayes. *Although it be the Law of Nature to repell force with*

with force; yet is it not lawfull by force to repell the force exercised by the Magistrate. Although we seeme to promise obedience, upon this condition, if the Magistrate command things lawfull; yet is it not therefore lawfull to repell the unjust force of the Magistrate by force. Although Empires be obtained and possessed by wickednesse, yet the Ordinaion of the Empire is the worke of God, and the good creature of God. There is therefore no force to be taken up against the Magistrate. These words hath *Melanthon* in *Luther*, Tom. 1. pig. 463.

Brentius dissents not from them, *the Government of a Prince* (as he hath it in Resp. ad Art. Rustic.) *may be evill two wayes. First when any thing is commanded contrary to the Faith, as to renounce God. Here is the Apostles saying good, we must obey God rather than Man. Let not the Subject by any means use violence against the Magistrate; let him suffer any evill patiently, let him not strike again, but be quiet, and suffer any discommodity rather than obey his wicked commands. Secondly the Government of a Prince may be evill, when any thing is commanded contrary to publike Justice; of which sort is the exaction of a mans goods, or the punishing of his body; in those kinds of injuries Obedience becomes a Subject; for if he betake himselfe to Arms, his sentence is past, he that smiteth with the sword shall perish by the sword.* Thus Brentius

Under *Henry* the eight, *Cranmer* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, together, with the Bishops, and other the the more famous Divines of the Kingdome, in a booke concerning the Institution of a Christian man, hath these words. *If Princes shall do contrary to what their duty requires, they have not in this world any Judge set over them by God, but are to render an account to God who hath reserv'd*

reserv'd to himselfe alone, the judgement of them. But it is horrible wickednesse for the Subjects to raise Sedition or Rebellion, although their Princes be evill. But God is to be pray'd unto, in whose hand are the hearts of Kings, that he would illuminate them by his Spirit, whereby they may rightly use the Sword committed to them, to Gods glory. Thus they.

Least any man should slanderously report that this was feigned, and therefore spoken to flatter the King; I will adde the opinions of others the most learned of that age; who lived under the Crosse of Persecution, who wrote in the troublesome time of Banishment, and who suffered most cruell Death for the Truth of Christ.

William Tyndall (an Exile for Religions sake, and Martyr under *Charles* the fifth) put forth a Booke concerning a Christian mans obedience in the nineteenth yeare of *Henry* the eight's Reigne, (when the Cardinall a Butchers Sonne led away the Lambs of Christ by flocks to the Slaughter) in which he describes the authority of the King, and the duty of Subjects, according to the rule of the Gospell. *David* (saith Tyndall) *spared* Saul; *if he had slayne him he had sinned against God. In every Kingdome the King* (*who hath no Superiour*) *judgeth of all. He that attempts any mischiefe to the Prince, being a Tyrant or Persecutor, or with a stubborne hand toucheth the Lords anoynted, is a Rebell against God, and resists Gods Ordinance. As often as a private man offends, he is held guilty to the King, when the King offends he ought to be reserv'd to the tryall and vengeance of God. And as it is not lawfull to resist the King upon any pretence whatsoever, so is it not lawfull to rise up against the Magistrate, who*

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is sent by the King, to execute those things which are commanded by the King. Thus he. *Robert Barnes* condemned to the fire in the year 1541. in a Tract concerning humane constitutions, he prescribes the best forme of obedience to Subjects living under wicked Princes. *If the King* (saith he) *endeavouring to root out the faith of Christ, shall forbid the hearing of the Word, or receiving of the Sacraments under the penalty of some great Fine, or danger of Death; God is to be called upon with faithfull prayers, the King petitioned with humble supplications, that he will be pleased to revoke his decree; if he will not doe it, it becommeth a loyall Subject to cleave to the Truth, and patiently to bear the violence offer'd by the King. He that cannot fly a raging Persecutor, let him patiently suffer the losse of goods, the tearing of his members; yea a Christian ought to suffer most cruell death for the truth according to the example of Christ; whosoever shall rebell for Religions sake shall be guilty of eternall damnation.* Thus Barnes.

They who in the Reigne of Queene *Mary* renounced Popery, & refused to believe the breaden God, were constrained to undergo the most exquisite kinds of torments, & after many Calamities, Miseries, Chains, Fetters, Hunger, Thirst, Cold and other Punishments, great without measure, many without number; being condemned to the Flames, they offered up their holy Soules an acceptable Sacrifice to God; of whom not any man either in his fore-spent life, or brought to the place of punishment being now laying down his life, did contemne the royall Majesty, though so cruell. No man cursed the Queen (destroying her People the Church of God contrary to her publicke protestation) no man was found who refused obedience, yea no man who did not humbly pray

for her. So the Men of God, and dutifull Subjects by leaving to posterity a famous example of obedience and patience, by leading an innocent life, free from sedition, they sealed with one and the same blood the duty of Allegiance and the purity of their faith.

We have not now place to speak of the Protestants under *Ferdinand*, *Maximilian*, and *Radolphus*, Emperours of *Germany*, and under *Elizabeth* of blessed memory Queen of *England*, (God I hope will grant an opportunity) I cannot passe by one, anoynted by the Lord with the oyle of saving Grace, and singular Knowledge above his fellows, the pillar of the Church, the prop of the Common-wealth, a most expert Champion of Christ against Anti-Christ and the new Arrians, a most invincible Warriour in the cause of Kings against the Papall Tyranny, the Cardinall impostures, and Puritannicall seditions, the restorer of the Episcopall Dignity, and most eager opposer of the Presbyteriall Anarchy, the Defendor of the Catholick Faith, the truly peaceable King, in his golden treatise concerning the true Law of free Monarchy. pag. 48. *The wickednesse of him that ruleth, ought not to subject the Ruler to them, over whom God hath appointed him to be Judge: if it be not lawfull for a private man to prosecute an injurie against a private Adversary, seeing God hath committed the sword of Vengeance to the Magistrate alone: how much lesse dost thou think it lawfull either for all the people in generall, or some in particular, to usurpe the sword, (to which they have no right) against the publicke Magistrate, to whom alone it is committed.* Thus the most royall King.

Seeing the Papall and Tribunitian power is contrary to Nature, is disallowed by the Law of Nations, the Civill

vill and Cannon law; seeing it can find neither foundation in the Word of God, nor patronage from the Ancient Fathers, nor entertainement with the most learned of the Protestants; but is rejected, antiquated, and exploded by all with one mouth: I confidently aver, that it is the meer devise of Papists and Puritans, (seditious men) odious to God, injurious to Kings; devised to the ruine of the Common-wealth, and destruction of Religion. Therefore I conclude according to the Dictate of Nature, the Law of Nations, the Civill and Canon Law, the sacred Scriptures, the Orthodox Fathers, and most Famous Doctors of the Reformed Church. *It is not lawfull to resist the King violating the Fundamentall Laws of the Kingdome.*

1. Pet. 2. 17.
Feare God, Honour the King.

FINIS.